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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2167

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

HUNGARIAN REMARKS AT BELGRADE UNCTAD MEETING

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 10 Jun 83 pp 1-2

[Remarks by foreign trade minister Peter Veress at the Belgrade meeting of UNCTAD]

[Excerpts] MTI [Hungarian Telegraph Agency] report from Belgrade:
Madame Indira Gandhi spoke in Belgrade Wednesday night at the general session of UNCTAD's conference in a dual capacity, as India's prime minister and as chairperson in the rotating sequence of the nonaligned movement.

Foreign trade minister Peter Veress [also] spoke at the conference session.

I am sorry to see that the Sixth Session of the conference is meeting under particularly unfavorable political and economic conditions. Its open nature makes the Hungarian economy especially sensitive to outside shocks. It is therefore of vital importance to us that the rules of international trade be respected, be applied in reality, that the international monetary relationships function smoothly, and that order and predictability prevail in the world economy.

We agree with the observation of UNCTAD's secretary general, according to which all parties must contribute to solving the crisis. Several requirements are heard mutually [sic], and some of the requirements are addressed also to us directly or indirectly. First of all I would like to summarize our desires: we should not be subjected to disadvantageous discriminations, our agricultural export should not be hindered on the third markets either by limiting our market volume or by creating artificial competition, and our export should not be struck by unilateral, protectionist regulations. I am sorry to see that there is no progress in these areas.

The disadvantageously discriminative and protectionist regulations which affect our export are making the situation even more difficult because they limit our entry onto the markets of our main creditors with whom our trade balance is chronically in deficit, while the very income from export is the only means for repayment of the loans. In spite of all these difficulties my country is certain that it can preserve its position and gradually improve upon it. Besides its own significant efforts it can also expect outside markets where there is no protectionism, there is no discrimination, where economic

assistance is not an empty slogan but reality. this is the cooperation with the socialist countries within the framework of CEMA. That fact also affects us that certain western powers are creating uncertain conditions for the East-West trade, as witnessed also by the most recent Williamsburg communique. It is self-evident that the economic growth and upswing they so feverently desire, can be implemented only through the kind of cooperation between the various groups of countries which is based exclusively on economic considerations. From this follows that our contribution to the international cooperations will necessarily depend on reestablishment of normal conditions for the East-West trade.

Cooperation with the Developing Countries

Otherwise it is our conviction that trade must be conducted on the basis of the most favored treatment, freedom from discrimination, and fulfillment of the contractual obligations in good faith. In this area the Hungarian party is willing to accept only those resolutions which contain these principles in an unmistakable manner.

One of the expectations submitted to us concerns turning over 0.7 percent of the gross national income. We did not vote for the resolution concerning this because we do not agree in principle with this approach. In spite of this we are extending significant economic aid to the developing countries.

Compared to the national income, the rate of this assistance is greater than the average of the applicable ratios of the OECD [Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development] countries. We maintain the position that the only fair method of evaluating the aid given to the developing countries is to compare the assistance given to these countries with the profits derived from the developing countries.

Hungary assigns very great significance to improving the economic cooperation with the developing countries. We wish to promote this by strengthening the international relations, organizing trade improvement actions, and sending out market development delegations. Since 1979 our import from the developing countries has increased by roughly 25 percent, which is a five times more dynamic rate than Hungary's total import. We have also further increased the semifinished and finished product imports of our developing partners [sic]. We are working on the application of new formats of cooperation in the areas of production and sales such as, for example, joint ventures and third market cooperation. Hungary makes an effort to adjust its economic assistance to the national development plans and ideas of these countries, and to concentrate giving loans, sending experts, the training of experts on location, to the areas of the basic economic branches and infrastructure.

The Hungarian party will judge the results of the conference according to how much it contributes to improving the conditions of the world's economy and to easing the burdens which weigh down on the Hungarian economy.

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BULGARIA

BALEV ON FLEXIBILITY OF PARTY POLICY, WEAKNESSES OF PARTY COMMITTEES

Sofia NOVO VREME in Bulgarian No 5, 1983 pp 71-90

[Article by Milko Balev, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and BCP Central Committee secretary; based on a speech delivered on 25 February 1983 at the Pernik Okrug BCP Committee Plenum: "Efficient Political Management Organs"]

[Text] The period since our party's 12th congress has been characterized by active work and struggle by party members and all Bulgarian working people for the implementation of the congress' decisions and the interpretation and mastery of Comrade Todor Zhivkov's new theoretical development and practical approaches.

In the aftermath of the congress, the local party committees on all levels have been increasingly developing as organs of political management. Their ability to act at efficient political staffs in the struggle for comprehensive intensification, education of the labor collectives as managers of socialist property, and direction of the further development and establishment of conurbation systems is increasing. Their ability to harness the creative activeness of the party members and the working people for the full and prompt implementation of party and government decisions is strengthening.

It is pleasing to note that the topical problems of party policy are in the center of attention of the party organs in the country. During the past 2-3 years the obshtina party committees and the party organizations have discussed various aspects of the work of party and economic organs and organizations, directly related to the new economic approach and its mechanism, the practical application of the accomplishments of the scientific and technical revolution, the new brigade organization of labor, the conservation of raw and other materials, and so on.

We would be fully justified to draw the conclusion that the okrug party organizations are united and rallied around the party's Central Committee, headed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, and the Leninist April line; they are steadily perfecting their political, organizational and ideological work and are working with purpose and dedication for the implementation of the party's policy and the enhancement of the combat capability of the party committees, bureaus and organizations so that they may be on the level of requirements as political management organs.

The topic of further improvements in the activities of party committees as political management organs is important, central, relevant and exceptionally serious. However, it also seems to have become a traditional and "eternal topic" for the party organs and organizations and in party construction, for it faces us again and again, whenever circumstances change, and must be resolved with the help of new approaches and mechanism, and with new tools.

As the socialist society develops so does the party, its level of organization and its cohesion. As it improves social relations, the party steadily improves its own organizational structure as well, its internal life and its means and methods of work and management, for only a party which always takes into consideration the pulse beat of social life that can march with the times.

Such is precisely the case of our party. Such was the party under Dimitur Blagoev and Georgi Dimitrov. Such it is now, as it approaches the 30th anniversary of the April period of headlong development and of conquered unparalleled and seemingly inaccessible peaks, when Comrade Todor Zhivkov is at the head of the party, its central committee and the country.

The April period did not merely restore the Leninist norms and principles and work style. Under the new conditions, in resolving the new problems, party theory and the science of party construction, as well as practical party life, blossomed tempestuously.

In the words of our head party and state leader, we can say that a real "explosion" took place in the development of the party and its organs and organizations.

Party leaders are quite familiar with the three-volume set "Za Partiyno Stroitelstvo" [On Party Construction] which was published several years ago. The work is an invaluable source of wealth -- the wealth of the April line in developing and improving the party's leading role in building socialism. In both this three-volume set and in subsequent works Comrade Todor Zhivkov stands out as a major party construction theoretician, who has made exceptionally important contributions to the development of the Marxist-Leninist theory on the party under contemporary conditions.

Characteristic Features of the April Contribution to Party Development and Party Construction Theory

What are the distinguishing features of the April contribution to the development of the party and the theory of party construction?

The first distinguishing feature is the definition of the new nature of the party in the stage of building a developed socialist society.

While remaining a party of the working class, it is gradually becoming the vanguard of the whole people. This is determined by the profound changes which are taking place in the economy, political system, socioclass structure and spiritual life in our country and people.

The second is the precise definition of the objectives, tasks and content of party activities under the new conditions. A new program was formulated, earmarking the way to socialism followed by our country and society; party bylaws were broadened. Clarity as to the way to be followed, and scientific formulations on the nature of the content of party work in the economic, political, social, cultural and ideological areas at each specific stage during the last decades are among the most important keys to our party's and country's successes.

The third is the developments related to the organization, structure and means of party activities, and the improvement of the mechanisms of the party's management of state and social organizations, of overall social life. It is a question of new contributions to the theory of socialist management, for what is the party if not the main factor, the leading nucleus in the social management system. The development and utilization of new approaches such as the program-target, comprehensive and multiplication ones, enabled us to raise the scientific level and to improve the efficiency of the party organizations and committees, of the entire party.

The fourth is the development of intraparty democracy and intraparty life. The atmosphere of creativity, criticism and self-criticism and stern practical realism has been steadily supported by the Central Committee and in the speeches, reports and personal work style of our top party and state leader. It is on this basis that the party members, all leading cadres and the working people in the country are developing their creative energy. The steady improvement of the dialectics of centralism and democracy, based on the new conditions which develop at each stage in our development, enables us to enhance the role of the party as the leading subjective factor in the successful development of socialism in our country.

The fifth is the steady improvement of the mechanisms through which the party reflects social processes, interests, views and feelings of the working people rapidly and accurately, and through which it influences them purposefully.

Scientific party activities are possible only if based on sufficiently objective information on social phenomena and processes, a type of information which must be continual and systematic, revealing ripening contradictions and singling out the most important, most significant and main problems which must be resolved at each individual stage.

In addition to the traditional information channels, we created the Central Committee Information-Sociological Center and actively used the work of sociologists in okrug party committees and, in recent years, in all social life.

A particularly important role was assigned to the opinion of the working people, expressed through reports, complaints, letters and interviews, and all other methods used in maintaining active contacts between leading party cadres and the people, which make the party always close to life, to the people. Furthermore, these are effective means for satisfying the most sensitive and urgent requirements in real life.

We must oppose the false impression and arrogance which may develop in some managers to the effect that they are familiar with public opinion exclusively on the basis of their personal contacts, a familiarity frequently filtered through one-sided information. Knowledge of life cannot be gained exclusively through office reports and meetings. The study of the needs of the working people and of ripening problems and contradictions through a number of channels and methods is an important prerequisite and condition for strengthening the ties between the party and the masses. Conversely, both the high-level information of party members and organizations and all working people as well as the active efforts of party committees to shape the new qualities of the socialist person and to mold public opinion are conditions for efficient political, leadership and managerial activities.

The sixth distinguishing feature is concern for cadres, for their development, growth, strengthening and selection. This problem has always faced the party committees. Many things depend on the maturity and the political and professional competence of cadres.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov is always setting the example of following a Leninist, an April approach to cadres. Here is one example: During the recent BCP Central Committee plenums he discussed in detail some negative phenomena in production and turnover and in labor relations. Once again he repeatedly pointed out that it was not his intention to blame the cadres or to try to identify the culprits. This is understandable, for the April approach means not to traumatize cadres, to frighten them or to create conditions for instability among them, but to encourage them to engage in constructive and joint efforts in detecting and eliminating difficulties, weaknesses and contradictions.

It is clear that control and taking to task are necessary. However this does not involve petty supervision or assigning to cadres the solution of problems which require changes in specific objective mechanisms, the identification of complex processes and various phenomena in the course of building a developed socialist society, and which are beyond the capacity of individual local cadres. That is precisely why the study of difficulties and weaknesses does not create an atmosphere of tension and insecurity but, conversely, an optimistic atmosphere, an atmosphere of firm confidence in the possibility that they can be resolved.

The seventh distinguishing feature is the steady concern for and attention to the primary party organizations, for there is where life, the people and the real problems are. It is there that the party directly talks to and is in touch with the working people. It was no accident that the 12th congress particularly emphasized the stipulation that the primary party organization is the representative of the party in the collective and that of the collective in the party. We are familiar with the contributions made by Comrade Todor Zhivkov on the subject of the primary party organizations in his famous speech at the 1975 Veliko Turnovo National Conference, which expressed his ideas on the prestige of the primary party organization, the fact that it must be the prototype of the labor collective, its obligations, its responsibilities to the labor collectives, its individualized work with and approach to the

people, relations between the primary party organizations and the trade unions and the Komsomol and the activities and role of the party secretary.

The eighth is raising to a qualitatively new level the unity of action with the party's political ally -- the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union -- and the country's social organizations, in accordance with the requirements of the new sociohistorical conditions.

In building mature socialism we are marching in a single file with the BZNS. A number of new problems of interaction between the party and the social organizations and, in this connection, their nature and specific activities in the period of building a developed socialist society were clarified. Today we have an essentially new concept according to which these organizations should not be considered as transmission mechanisms for the party but, together with it and under its guidance, engage in resolving common problems through their specific means and methods. For example, we are considering the idea and practical value of turning the Fatherland Front from an organization into a movement and vice-versa; we have formulated a concept regarding the overall development of the political system. Perfecting the relations between the party and the BZNS, the Fatherland Front, the trade unions, the Komsomol, the creative unions, and others, and unity of action and cooperation with them on all levels are essential features of the April political approach.

The ninth distinguishing feature is the extensive creative utilization of the experience of the international communist and worker movements and the experience of the fraternal communist parties in the other socialist countries, above all the creative utilization of the universal-historical experience of the CPSU, the great party of Lenin, the pioneering and track-blazing party, the party with exceptional international reputation and tremendous impact of its experience and example on the other communist parties.

Further Enhancement of the Role and Perfecting the Activities of Party Committees as Organs for Political Management

The ideas related to party construction remain a central feature in Comrade Todor Zhivkov's new postcongress theoretical developments and practical approaches related to the further development of the political system in our country. These ideas set new requirements regarding party work -- its content, organization, tasks, approaches and methods.

The further development of the political system in our country urgently calls for the further development of the party committees as the leading organs in the political system. On the other hand, something of great importance in social practice, the further development of the political system itself, would not be possible without the persistent work of the party committees, which are a basic factor and instrument in this development.

More specifically, what is the reason for the great importance of this problem?

The increased leading role of the party as a whole and of the party committees under socialist conditions is an objective law. This is a fact confirmed by the entire development of our party. However, this law does not operate at random. On the contrary, as confirmed by the experience of some socialist countries, if some requirements governing the building of socialism are violated, the party may weaken its ties with the masses and with overall social life, which leads to the outbreak of crises. If such violations are committed by individual party committees or okrug party organizations they will remain localized within the rayon, obshtina or okrug. However, if they are committed by superior organs, let us say the central ones, the crisis processes could and do have an adverse reflection on the entire country.

Life is in a state of constant flux. This requires changes in the leading activities of party committees and organizations. The increased leading role of the party committees, of the party as a whole, is possible only if they seek, again and again, specific solutions to this problem and define the subjective and objective prerequisites which determine the implementation of these decisions.

It is precisely to this effect and in order to implement the new stipulations and approaches developed after the 12th congress and to resolve the tasks which face us presently that the Central Committee continues to ascribe exceptionally importance to the activities of party committees and party organs.

First. The Central Committee ascribes such importance for the reason that the party committees are the so-called "middle level," "middle link" in the party's structure. The role of this level or link is exceptionally great. It determines whether or not the stipulations, ideas and tasks which the Central Committee sets will reach the working people or will drown in a bureaucratic lack of understanding or in the depths of neglect. This level also determines the extent to which the problems, needs and moods of the working people, the primary party organizations and the thousands of party members will be answered and accurately transmitted to our party's upper echelons.

We must not forget that the style of the party committees and bureaus is an objective condition for enhancing the activity of primary party organizations, making the party's principles and ideas those of the labor collectives and the development of the latter as the object and subject of management. If we wish to enrich and develop practical experience, the struggle should begin precisely with the reorganization of the thinking and activities of party committees — orkrug, obshtina, rayon, etc.

Enhancing the role of the party committees as political management organs is a major step forward in surmounting the contradictions between the subjective factor and the objective material possibilities at the disposal of our country and our individual okrugs. It will also be an important step in the further increase in the material and technical possibilities of the country, above all in terms of new equipment and advance technologies and the further development of the material and technical base.

Second. The party pays very great attention to the party committees for the reason that now, under the new conditions, they have greater responsibilities. This means greater responsibilities and greater skill in defining local possibilities, changing styles and approaches and rapidly reacting to the new requirements. The question has been raised again of late on the unity of rights, obligations, democracy and discipline. This question applies to the party and the various organizations and party committees. Today they must set the example in developing a realized and attainable unity between democracy and discipline and between collective and individual responsibility, rights and obligations and centralism and decentralization.

Our party has never considered simplistically the enhancement of the leading role of party committees; for example, it has never considered that this simply means the broadening of their rights or their interference in the life of the social organizations, state and economic organs and working people. The position of leading and guiding force is not freely given. It is earned on the basis of reputation, greater objectivity, trust and merits.

What is the basic means, the main tool through which the okrug party committees will continue to enhance their role and to improve their activities?

It is the political approach.

The requirements governing the application of this approach proceed from the very nature and role of the party as the main political and managing force in the socialist society.

The political approach is a scientific approach.

The political approach is also a class approach.

Furthermore, the political approach demands of our entire party organization, something which is occasionally forgotten, never to forget the long range developments. We are threatened by gross pragmatism, narrow-minded economism and a technocratic approach if the daily "strictly" practical tasks are not related to our final objective — communism — which inspires, ennobles and enhances them. It is precisely the political approach that helps us to eliminate this very serious threat.

Once again, exceptional importance was paid to the problem of the political approach at the 12th congress, which emphasized that today it must be raised to a new height and play an exceptionally important role in decision making and, particularly, implementation. The problem includes a number of new aspects related to the style and, particularly, the features of the activities of the various party committees.

What are the new features here?

One of them is that the political approach should be such as to guarantee the inviolability of the rights of collectives and individuals against bureaucratic encroachments and arbitrary decisions made by superior authorities.

Today every party committee must clearly determine the extent to which it has implemented and is implementing this precise task.

Another new feature in the political approach is the development and mastery of mass activities through the use of economic levers, increased collectivity and study of public opinion in the formulation, discussion and implementation of basic lines of activity. It involves finding effective means for social participation, which would reflect the increased complexity of social life and enable the various interests, views and concepts to be expressed openly and freely. Each party committee must clearly determine the extent to which it has implemented and is implementing these tasks.

The new in the political approach also includes an active attitude toward the determination, elimination and prevention of contradictions between the owner and the manager of socialist property. Each party committee must determine the extent to which it is implementing such tasks.

Finally, the new in the political approach applies to the greater responsibilities and requirements related to the activities of both party committees and primary party organizations. The primary party organizations represent the party in the labor collectives. They do not simply and merely inform the collectives of specific decisions, matters and processes, but also set examples of democracy and discipline through the development of intraparty relations.

Contradictions and even conflicts are inevitable in resolving new problems and implementing new tasks. It is precisely the party organizations which must apply their approach in such cases. They must act as the support of the party member and develop the type of atmosphere which will make him feel confident that as long as he formulates the questions accurately and honestly fights for the party line and truth he will have a defender. This is a function of the primary party organizations.

We frequently speak out against wage equalization. However, another equalization exists as well in which, whenever contradictions appear and when major weaknesses have taken place, usually either everyone or no one is guilty and, in order to avoid vexations, either no one is punished or else a blanket punishment is imposed. Such practices are wrong and totally unneeded, for to support the party members and to promote the political approach means to help to resolve contradictions and to eliminate weaknesses and shortcomings, to separate the bearers of the new from the conservatives and to defend them. We are familiar with the practice according to which the directors of the most important enterprises are criticized by the party committees, one after another, but the strong, creative and principle-minded friendship, which serves our common work and interests remains.

The new in the political approach means giving greater priority to the control functions of the party committees. We know that the political approach, politics, is capable of affecting all aspects of social reality. This makes it necessary for the political authority to apply a systemic approach and to ensure the development of all forces, factors conditions and processes within its range as an entity, an integral system. The 12th congress strengthened

this stipulation of the July 1968 Central Committee Plenum by substantiating the need for the political organ to provide effective and efficient political control over the activities of any and all organs and organizations within its sector.

Party control must take into consideration the new realities. Its targets no longer include the representatives of the state but also the self-management organs which were created with the application of the new economic approach. It must study the possible contradictions which may appear between the owner and the manager and make its contribution to their prompt and competent resolution.

In connection with all this we must pay attention to some remaining weaknesses in the style and approach of the party committees at the present stage.

One of them is the means of planning party work. Here changes are slow. A certain contradiction exists between socioeconomic and party planning. The former takes place from the bottom up. The counterplan enhances the activities of the labor collective which lives dynamically with its problems. The latter is still suffering from unnecessary centralism, excessive promulgation of decrees, insufficient study of party and public opinion and neglect for the creative aspects in the life of the primary party organizations. This type of approach does not help to enhance the activity of party organizations as demanded by the 12th party congress. It prevents them from living a full life and always with the problems which concern and worry the labor collectives.

In shaping their plans, many party committees use the intuitive approach. Problems are not discussed and considered profoundly. This hinders the unification of long-term with current tasks. Party sociological studies have indicated that no more than half of the actually discussed items entered in the agendas of party committee bureaus throughout the country have been planned in advance. Naturally, we are realists and understand that some changes are necessitated by life, by new problems. We must not cling to the letter of the rules and believe that no changes will take place. However, a clearer view on forthcoming tasks is unquestionably necessary.

The irregular holding of plenary party committee meetings is another weakness. The practices of many okrugs are inconsistent with the stipulations of the 12th party congress on turning such meetings into work forums. We must increase their activeness, the activeness of the plenum members and the party committees, not only during but between meetings as well. This means that the members of party committee plenums, particularly those who are not employed in party and state organs, should become much more active in the formulation and development of problems to be discussed and resolved by the party committee in the future. A good way to achieve this is through the establishment of problem groups, commissions or other temporary organs to study and discuss main problems of party policy, as is already being done in some cases. This problem directly affects collectivity in the work of the party committees as organs of political management, and should not be underestimated.

The third weakness is the frequently encountered waste on the part of party committees in the formulation of programs, steps and all sorts of documents with which they burden the primary party organizations, thus depriving them of their initiative. Many of them, unable to carry them out, can only hastily scribble on their cover "for the file."

The fourth and still occasionally existing old weakness is the following: instead of displaying party exigency and ensuring the implementation of the basic tasks related to the socioeconomic development of conurbation systems through party-political ways and means, with some of their resolutions the party committees continue to take over the tasks of economic organs and assign to some economic managements tasks which are theirs, and even take on the role of umpires by asking the superior authorities to amend plans. This is an indication that the political approach is not always carried out consistently and to the end.

Economic policy is the nucleus, the center of the political approach.

Politics means not only agitation and propaganda. It is the concentrated expression of economics. Economics, economic tasks, in turn, are also political. They are political tasks because they pertain to the present and the future of our country, the socialist system and the working people. The functioning of the economy largely determines that of politics.

Therefore, the solution of economic problems is, in a certain sense, the solution of political ones. Economic successes are a political force for our country. It is no accident that in recent years Bulgaria has developed as a desired partner, a welcome participant in discussions, a country with which others are trying to develop active political, economic, cultural and all sorts of other relations. Economic successes, which help the working people to reach a certain living standard, will determine the success of our ideological, educational and political work.

Let us consider a question to which we have paid very great attention in recent years and which we would like to turn today into a task for a nationwide project and make use of all possible means and reserve to ensure its solution: the question of quality, quality in the strict sense of the word, the quality of goods and output and, in its broadest sense, the quality of all social activities, including those of the party organizations and party committees.

Unquestionably, this is an exceptionally important economic problem. As we know, some 90 percent of our national income is already shaped by our foreign trade. If goods are returned to us because of poor quality, the result is a drop in our national income. It means hurting the economy, which leads to some adverse domestic and foreign political consequences.

However, quality is also an exceptionally important political and ideological problem. This has been repeatedly emphasized. This is because in our daily work the success of "purely" political or "purely" ideological work would not be significant unless backed by real material results and the quality of the work and the goods.

We are engaged in a sharp political and ideological struggle against capitalism in which political and ideological means or ideas, in general, our articles and publications would not have, and let me express this very carefully, sufficient effect if insufficiently backed by accomplishments in the economic area. This is because a society exerts its influence also through the quality of its goods and objects which satisfy the basic and vital material requirements of the people and naturally, above all, through the quality of life.

We know that considerable quantities of goods in our country remain unsold mainly because of substandard quality. This is a tremendous economic loss. I would add that this is also a tremendous political and ideological loss.

Let us also consider a question about which a great deal has been said of late: the organization of labor and discipline. This too is a most important problem. The latest December 1982 Central Committee Plenum drew most sharply the attention to annoying weaknesses in the field of discipline and to the fact that urgent steps must be taken in this respect, some of which legislative and administrative. It is high time to put a firm stop to misunderstood "humaneness" and forgiveness of disciplinary blunders. To a certain extent this is the fault of the party organizations and their managements. There must be no compromising in matters of discipline. Any blunder which has not been noted promptly or punished suitably multiplies along the entire work chain of a unit.

Here we encounter some old wisdoms which occasionally express a kind of philosophy we should unquestionably abandon. "I can do two things," the peasant says. "I can work and I can not work." He also says, "The law is like a door to a field. You can push through it if you are stupid."

Other such sayings exist as well. They make us laugh. They are features of the inexhaustible popular wit. Unfortunately, sometimes they are also current practice.

The requirement of no compromise on matters of discipline does not clash with our stipulation on labor democracy. The Basic Stipulations of the Party Concept of a New Labor Code pay particular attention to the directions for and means of expanding socialist labor democracy, democracy in labor management and the role of the primary units in the various social organizations and management of this area. Here again the political and the economic aspects cannot be separated from each other. In terms of the implementation of these ideas the activities of the party committees will yield political results and mark the highest level of implementation of the political approach.

Generally speaking to the extent to which this applies to the public interest, any economic phenomenon is also political. The job and role of the political approach is to guarantee the type of "effect" on social interests by the economy and the type of influence on them which would not harm such interests and would be useful to the further development of society as a whole rather than of individuals.

Importance of the New Theoretical Stipulations and Practical Approaches in Further Enhancing the Role and Improving the Comprehensive Activities of Party Committees

Comrade Todor Zhivkov's speeches and works after the 12th party congress are of invaluable importance to our party. They reveal new laws and set new tasks. They provide new mechanisms for work, which affect the subjective factor and the party as the central managing unit of this subjective factor. They also entail consequences affecting the activities of the individual party committees. They determine the implementation of the social laws during the stage of building a mature socialist society. Engels wrote that history is nothing but man in pursuit of his objectives. We could add that under socialist conditions on their highest level history and its development are nothing else, and that those who pursue these objective, consistent with specific objective laws, are party organs and organizations, labor collectives, etc.

What is the basic, the most important law? Unquestionably, it is the basic economic law of socialism. We usually say that the new developments under discussion are consistent with ripe social requirements. This is accurate, but it would be even more accurate to say that they are consistent above all with the most important -- the basic economic law.

This is explainable. The basic law of socialism is like a lens in which the effect of all other laws and various economic, social, political and ideological problems criss-cross. In the final account, it affects the main mechanism through which human needs are satisfied and developed and through which, as Marx said, the people become "authors" and "actors" of their drama, and through which they create the history of socialism. The means through which the basic economic law of socialism is enacted largely depends on the way the popular masses participate in the solution of social problems and the way their social and labor activeness is manifested. Hence the significance of the problem that at each stage in the development of the socialist society favorable conditions must be created for expanding the effect of the basic law and ensuring the complex influence of the mechanisms of its manifestations, enriching them and eliminating the negative phenomena which arise in the course of its development.

The vitality of the April line and the force of the new theoretical elaborations and practical approaches are also based on the fact that our party not only takes into consideration the requirement of strictly observing the basic law of socialism but also creates economic, scientific and technical, social, political, and other prerequisites for its fuller, less painful and more economical manifestation.

Our enemies in the West frequently say that socialism can be effective only in underdeveloped countries, but that it is ineffective in a modern economy, with its complex and intensive nature. It is precisely the new developments and approaches and their implementation which refute such assertions. They prove what can be achieved by the subjective factor and what the party committees and organizations must do under the new circumstances in order to ensure the implementation of the basic economic law of socialism. It can be said that this is the Bulgarian contribution to the political economy of socialism and

the theory of socialist management. The works of Comrade Todor Zhivkov offer better conditions for action. They enrich the manifestations of the basic law of socialism and the entire system of socialist laws.

Hence the various laws governing the functioning and development of the subjective factor, the party and the party committees.

Let us also consider some problems which are as yet to be interpreted and resolved by the party committees and organizations, after which conclusions on their activities will be drawn. These problems were formulated by Comrade Todor Zhivkov at the last two -- November and December 1982 -- plenums of the BCP Central Committee, and at the joint session which dealt with the December social program. Subsequently, exceptionally important ideas were added to the overall ideological and theoretical complex he formulated at the 12th party congress and in his subsequent speeches, reports and statements, and a system of basically new concepts was drafted. Yes, a system, for the new concepts and problems they include have a special type of integrity and internal ties. These are ideas which directly determine the formulation of the new Labor Code. We would be unable to draft and apply the new Labor Code without resolving the problems to which it is related, for otherwise, regardless of how good the code is, its stipulations would mean nothing.

The primary, the initial link in this new integrity, this new system, is investments, the characteristics of the investment process. Production, the activities of the producer, is the next link. This is followed by distribution, turnover and, finally, the various consumption characteristics.

This new system of basic provisions changes the emphasis in the study of the successes achieved by our country over the past decades, such as cooperation with the other CEMA members, the development of the production base and process, artistic culture and the enhancement of the people's living standards. These successes are aptly defined as "explosions." This is no accident, for it is precisely the word "explosion" that is a very accurate description of one of their very important sides: the speed at which they were achieved and their scale. In many respects their nature is "explosive" rather than slow and very lengthy in its development, as has been the case in many other countries. This determines the corresponding approach of the party committees who mention successes achieved in political and educational work.

This new system of basic stipulations involves the making of new studies of problems, difficulties, weaknesses and negative phenomena in our development. We know that such problems have always played an important role in party developments. What is new here, at this point?

First, the fact that some negative phenomena and contradictions are considered on a long-term basis, on the basis of the future. The analyses cover not only the circumstantial, the topically acute negative phenomena but also those which will have to be prevented in the future, for their influence would be truly felt only in the future. Far more precise forecasts and realistic and specific plans become possible on this basis.

The existing tradition is to project only successes and to consider exclusively the solution of today's contradictions. However, we must also be prepared for some negative trends. We must be able to see future contradictions as of today. If society advances with contradictions, future contradictions and negative phenomena are also important. It is precisely in such works that we see a projection into the distant future, perhaps to the year 2000, something which is important to the fate and development of other socialist countries as well, for it is precisely the exclusive consideration of topical successes and the inability to see originating processes which could trigger rather fatal events after a while, that have caused difficulties in some countries.

Secondly, a study is made of some negative phenomena known as deformations. It is thus that we develop the idea of contradictions related to the subjective factor. Deformations are deviations from the normal condition of the socialist society. We have objective material and human prerequisites for their elimination. The problem is to develop further the specific mechanisms for surmounting them.

The third new feature here is the study of adverse trends which have developed quite recently, from the start of the five-year plan, over the past 2-3 years, in a number of respects. These are negative trends caused by the worsened international political and economic situation.

How does all of this affect the party committees as political management organs?

It calls for serious, extensive and lengthy work in order to erect a barrier which would block the respective present and future adverse trends.

One of the most important conditions for the increasingly full manifestation of party committees as full-blooded political management organs is their ability to identify on time arising contradictions in their area, to struggle for the prompt resolution of the most topical problems facing the labor collectives and to enhance the active and transforming power of direct organizational and political education work among party members and the entire population. In this connection the very important requirement is not to criticize negative phenomena in general but to study the contradictions which create them, so that our work may become even more efficient.

What is required today of the individual party committees? A serious and profound study of the condition in the production area, particularly in capital returns, social labor productivity and subsidies. How to improve capital returns, to increase labor productivity and reduce subsidies are also among the most important long-range problems.

The approaches and the mechanisms formulated for their implementation must be mastered. What does this mean?

It means the following: reconstruction and modernization must be treated separately from new construction. We must realize that production updating must be achieved above all with the help of vanguard technologies.

· It is a question of a new investment policy which would eliminate the contradictions among the main participants in the investment process, so that this orchestra, as Comrade Todor Zhivkov said, may perform under the baton of a single conductor instead of every musician playing his own tune.

It is a question of the further application of the new economic approach and its mechanism, an application which does not depend on a group of specialists at the center but which must be taken up by all party committees and organizations and local cadres. They must develop it further and contribute to its practical implementation.

It is a question of the fact that not only the brigade but all superior units must be built on the basis of the new economic approach. It is high time to organize the nonproduction area on the basis of this approach. This can be accomplished only within the departments, ministries, trusts and conurbation systems themselves. Here again the party committees must display their directing, stimulating and controlling political role.

It is a question of further production concentration and specialization based on the principle of the multiplication approach, purchases, sales and trade on the foreign economic front, of a new approach to the conservation of raw and other materials and energy. A major weakness was emphasized at a recent BCP Central Committee plenum, after proper gratitude was expressed to the foreign trade workers: we sell low and buy high.

It is a question of the quality of output and making this problem the main trend in the development of our economy. This calls for the solution of serious problems. We must put to use the entire complex of influence measures, starting with prices and incentives, through the requirement that the position and wages of managers must depend on the quality of their output, and ending with looking at the production of substandard goods, particularly goods which are returned to us from abroad, as an act against the state and prosecutable through the courts.

Another basic problem in the work of the party committees as organs of political management is that of stimulating, organizing and directing the scientific and technical revolution.

The rapid development of the scientific and technical revolution in our country is of vital importance to us. This applies to all countries, but in our case the scientific and technical revolution assumes particular importance due to the fact that we were quite backward industrially, that we were a poor agricultural country. We achieved tremendous successes in the building of socialism, through tremendous efforts. However, we must not believe that we have already caught up with and surpassed the highly developed countries. No data should be cited in this cases. That is why the question of the scientific and technical revolution is to us a question of life or death.

However, we must not mistakenly believe that our wish would be sufficient for the advancement of the scientific and technical revolution. What is needed above all is funds, money. We may fail to mention this occasionally, but it

must be clear to all that a scientific and technical revolution cannot be accomplished with bare ambition.

Our situation is not easy. Objective conditions lock us within a vicious circle: as "novices," and since we are still behind the most developed countries, we must complete the scientific and technical revolution faster. However, we cannot achieve this because we are less advanced, less experienced and poorer. That is why we must devote greater efforts and achieve a greater mobilization. We must establish an excellent organization which would encourage and clear the way to scientific and technical progress. We must make efficient use of the gray matter, of the intellectual power of our scientific and leading organs and organizations. We must draw all the necessary conclusions from outside experience in order to avoid repeating the mistakes of others and use both foreign and Bulgarian leading achievements.

Recently, Comrade Todor Zhivkov likened the scientific and technical revolution to a spirited and strong horse which we mount, off which we fall, mount and fall off again. It is high time for us to mount this horse firmly and spur it in the desired direction. The party committees must learn how to mount this horse without falling and bruising themselves. All of us must learn how to do this now.

More specifically, what is the current situation in this respect?

Let me mention a few facts.

It is true that the activities of the local party managements in matters of scientific and technical progress are essentially correct. They see the tasks well and are skillfully working to energize the activities of the party members. However, a great deal remains to be desired in this respect.

According to a study made by the party's Central Committee Information-Sociological Center some time ago, industrial workers supplied the following data: the economic management is the main initiator in the application of new developments in production. No more than 18 percent of the workers and 14 percent of management cadres in industry named the party managements and organizations as the main initiators. Furthermore, the support given economic managements, specialists and workers who initiate leading work methods has still not become a permanent feature of party work. More than 50 percent of the authors of suggestions on the application of new developments in production report lack of support by the party organizations.

The role of control in the implementation of tasks related to technical progress is underestimated by the local party, economic and state organs. It is the opinion of the workers and specialists that party control is exercised mainly by superior managements.

The level and quality of information in the field of scientific and technical progress is quite unsatisfactory. Three-quarters of the workers who are party members and two-thirds of managers-party members consider that they are only partially informed or not informed at all about the scientific and technical revolution as a social phenomenon.

The situation regarding the level of information on leading scientific and technical achievements is even more alarming. Only 10 to 20 percent of managers, specialists and workers in any given area are familiar with leading world achievements.

All of this demands the greater attention and specific concern of the party organs and organizations. The center of this attention and concern must be the following: the problems of scientific and technical progress must be resolved on the basis of the new criteria, which are not to work today better than tomorrow but to work in such a way as to reach the peak of world achievements. No other criterion is acceptable. Anything else would be anachronistic. Any step, any "measure," large or small, future or current, should be assessed on the basis of this viewpoint.

Such is precisely the most important tasks of the party organs as organs of political management.

In this connection, each enterprise and sector must rely on a firm scientific potential and scientific and technical thinking. It would be naive to believe that each okrug or rayon would develop its own self-satisfying system of scientific units in order to resolve such problems. This is neither possible nor necessary.

Today April Bulgaria has a solid scientific potential. The various means offered by the new economic mechanism and type of contracting should be used to establish even closer integration relations with scientific establishments and institutes, to strengthen more specifically ties with the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and even more so with the higher educational institutions and other establishments in order to resolve seemingly "local" problems which, however, are quire frequently national problems of scientific and technical progress.

It is true that this is largely being done successfully and efficiently.

Now this practice must not only be expanded but organized on a scientific basis.

The poverty of the working people in our country was a known fact. Also known was their pride and ability to laugh at themselves. These are features of strength.

Many are the jokes about the man from Graovo who is amazed at the attractive and tempting nearby Sofia. One of these jokes is about the Graovo man who outwitted an American by proving to him that he, the Graovo man, had built an entire skyscraper in Sofia overnight. It is a good old joke and, I would say, a prophetic one, for today even the biggest Western industrialists, the American in the joke, would be amazed at the largest construction projects under way in our country.

They may take more than overnight, but what is true is that the working people throughout Bulgaria can build. They have built in the past, and unquestionably they will be making miracles in the future as well!

However, our pride, as comrade Todor Zhivkov emphasizes, should not be like the peasant's view that "Nothing is higher than Vitosha, and nothing is deeper than the Iskur." For a long time this concept tied our development down. It has hindered and is still hindering us, for there still are in the world mountains higher than Vitosha and rivers deeper than the Iskur.

In surmounting the peasant's idea, our objective is to learn how to build skyscrapers like and better than the best masters in the world.

Our antithesis to the peasant's view is clear: we must reach the peaks of contemporary and future global economic and scientific and technical progress. At that point we would be truly able to say that, yes, our peasants are right: there indeed are no mountains taller than Vitosha and no rivers deeper than the Iskur. One thing is clear, however: All of this requires stubborn, honest, dedicated and stressed work, like that of the miners, metal workers, machine builders and construction workers. It requires systematic efforts for the implementation of the party's plans, the systematic implementation of the party's general line and the resolutions of the 12th party congress. It demands the efforts of all of our party's detachments.

The workers face particularly sharply the question of becoming familiar with the general scientific and technical foundations of their production process and the long-range prospects of technological development and the leading technology in their field.

The primary task of management and engineering cadres is to study the latest developments and trends in the production area they are responsible for or to which they provide engineering and technical support.

The requirements facing the personnel in the engineering and application units are far stricter. They must not only be informed of new developments but "reduce" them to the production level as information for workers and managers or as projects ready for implementation.

The party members-innovators must become the political nucleus in the movement of innovators. They must become the active center, the leading feature of development.

The party committees must lead in the battle for the qualitative enhancement of professional standards and the specialized training and information maturity of cadres, the broadening of their professional horizon and the sharpening of their inner need for finding and utilizing the latest, most advanced and most efficient solutions.

If we want to have scientific and technical progress we must adopt a political approach in this area as well. We must create a political atmosphere and control leading to the fast application and fast updating of production, advanced technology and equipment. We must encourage a feeling for the new and the reaching of the most advanced accomplishments in world practice. We must train a new type of labor collectives, who are knowledgeable and skilled and have intellectual capabilities and the desire to apply and master the achievements of scientific and technical progress.

Meaning and Content of Party Policy

Concern for man and his happiness has always been the meaning and content of the policy of the BCP and the socialist state. This is seen once again in the Basic Stipulations of the Party Concept of a New Labor Code and in the decisions which were passed quite recently on updating the December social program. I purposefully mentioned the basic economic law of socialism, for what is its most typical objective, what is the final criterion with which we measure both the increase in production and scientific and technical progress? It is concern for the person.

The most general pattern which becomes apparent through the basic economic law in the socioeconomic area is reflected as a pattern in the political approach as well. This is also its final objective, for the happiness and well-being of the Bulgarian people are our party's supreme objective. The methods, style and approach of the party committee are not self-seeking. They must be such as to serve the faster development of socialism, the working people and their well-being.

That is how our party has always acted. The new party program for building a developed socialist society was adopted in 1971. Immediately afterwards, on the following year, the December plenum was held, at which this task was concretized in the field of the party's social policy and with a view to the lasting and long-term enhancement of the people's living standard.

This policy is permanent. During the 2 years since the congress, our party has become richer in theory and practice with the help of essentially new theoretical formulations and practical approaches which advance in many respects the party's program in the social area as well. Last February we held a joint session at which we reported on the results of the implementation of the December social program and earmarked the directions for its further updating and application. This was not a joint session of pompous propaganda stir and pathetic promises, but an anniversary working meeting at which specific problems were posed and a realistic survey of the development of the living standard of our people was made.

What are the new features in the effect of the basic economic law of socialism today, which was identified and should be taken into consideration in party work, made the basic content in the activities of party committees and reflect the approach and means of implementation of such activities in the area of social policy?

First: The fact that we give priority, as a central economic, ideological and political problem, to the requirement that income be based on the quantity and quality of labor. This involves not only the individual wage but the new approach in the formation and use of social consumption funds and the place and role of services within the system of requirements of our society and individual citizens. This approach opposes the misconceived and self-seeking pseudohumanism, which has an adverse effect from the educational viewpoint. Conversely, the satisfaction of the material, social and spiritual needs of the working people should become an important factor in the accelerated development of production forces and the various capabilities of the individual.

This approach is at the base of our current social policy and of the further enhancement of the living standard of the working people, which will not be the result of the use of some bank surplus funds. Actually we have no such funds. What is the solution? The enhancement of the living standard must be earned. It must be the result of the efforts of individual working people. Such is today our social policy and the content of socialist social justice.

The party committees must struggle for precisely this kind of socialist justice: a person must receive no more than what he creates, and his living standard must depend on him alone. "Every one must set his own wage." This means that today every one must be paid according to the quantity and quality of his labor. Today we need not any kind of labor, but labor which has mastered the achievements of scientific and technical progress, labor aimed at the fulfillment of contemporary tasks, such as intensification, application, quality, marketing, and conservation of raw and other materials and energy. These are today's criteria on which the living standard of the individual working people must depend. Such criteria must be constantly asserted in party work. The style and approaches of the party committees as organs of political management must be based on them.

Second: The idea of a new approach to the satisfaction of the needs of the people has been adopted. We must study first of all consumer demand — that which the people would like to buy, what they like and what they dislike.

Furthermore, as was emphasized at the joint session, a radical change must be made in this respect. An active approach must be adopted in meeting the needs of the people. We must not act passively and exclusively on the basis of what the people are looking for and are interested in. The active approach requires the surmounting of old and harmful needs and the creation, anticipation and channeling of new needs. This has its educational and ideological aspects. What is essential here is the fact that the so-called prime necessities are limited and are being gradually and increasingly met. This applies to food, clothing and housing. Subsequently, the satisfaction of the needs of the socialist person will acquire new emphases. Following the gradual satisfaction of material requirements, on which our efforts were mainly concentrated so far, priority will be increasingly assumed by social and spiritual needs, which are unlimited. The comprehensive satisfaction of the needs of the population is a qualitatively new practical approach in the work of the overall social management system as well. Our forecasts and educational and political work must be increasingly directed precisely toward the comprehensive satisfaction of the material, social and spiritual needs of the working people.

Third: The new feature today is the declaration of a merciless war against the main forms of parasitical consumption.

This involves price manipulations under the conditions of the new economic mechanism, when one administration or another, proceeding from its narrowly conceived interests tries to extract higher profits through unjustified price changes rather than higher labor productivity and better quality. This also involves appropriations and thefts against which measures so far unfamiliar, including legislative ones, must be taken. Otherwise our efforts would be

undermined and the normal application and functioning of the new economic approach would be hindered.

All of these problems and tasks entail new responsibilities and requirements governing the activities of the party organizations and party committees. These responsibilities and requirements are also of essential significance in upgrading their role and improving their efforts as political management organs.

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CHRISTIAN BELIEVERS UNDER PRESSURE

Bonn RHEINISCHER MERKUR in German 10 Jun 83 p 16

[Article by Teinhold Lehmann: "The Church in the East Bloc: Stations of the Cross in the Underground--Persecution of Christians in Czechoslovakia Continues To Increase"]

[Text] Similarly to conditions in Poland, "dissidents" and their families are subjected to constant pressure.

In speaking of Czechoslovakia, why is constant reference being made to the persecution of Christians? Is this merely a newly coined concept to replace the hackneyed "church battle"? Actually, both developments have run a parallel course ever since the communist takeover. Under Soviet chief of state and party, Yuri Andropov, the "great humanitarian" and lover of classical music, things are actually beginning to look worse.

Andropov, the former chief of the USSR's KGB, has given encouragement to those forces which after the CSCE [Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe] conference in Helsinki were forced to assume a low profile. In this year of the Karl Marx Jubilee the late phase of Marxism-Leninism is also becoming quite manifest: inflexibility not only in the area of the planned economy, but also in ideological matters and the defense against "inimical ideologies" such as church and Christianity, which should have lost their influence long ago if everything had gone according to plan.

However, except for Poland the Catholic church can no longer be considered a power factor in any other East bloc country. Only there is the church allied with forces which strive for a democratization of society--to include the workers and the intellectuals. Western politicians are wrong in talking in the same breath about Poland's free trade union 'Solidarity' and the 'Charta 77' human rights movement in Czechoslovakia; they are not comparable.

'Charta 77' has always been restricted to a small circle of intellectuals and to the capital of Prague, and hardly numbers any workers in its ranks, nor does it have any kind of influence among the working class. In that country, the church has never openly aligned itself with 'Charta 77,' even though during the last few years there has been increased participation by Catholic speakers.

Neither the Vatican, nor Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek, nor Western politicians have succeeded in obtaining an early release from prison of Catholic Charta speaker, philosopher and mathematician Vaclav Benda, father of five children. It won't happen until the fall of this year. World-famous playwright Vaclav Havel was freed only upon becoming seriously ill; protests from all over the world were to no avail in his case either.

As a matter of fact, for several years there has been an increasing trend among Charter members to imigrate. As is the case in Poland, young "dissidents" are unable to stand the psychological pressure upon themselves and their families; they decide to accept the security police's offer to leave the country.

The "Charter 77" provides no protection. Whoever joins it subjects himself to persecution and discrimination. There are some active Catholic laymen who follow their instincts in this matter and who indirectly, or through intermediaries, are on the one hand active in Charter and the church (mostly individual priests), on the other hand in the so-called "underground church." These tactics are appropriate not only to the current situation, but also to a "mentality acquired in the course of history." It is a well-known historical fact, especially in the history of Bohemia, that those heads which are most highly visible on the battlefield, are the first to roll. Prudence dictates a low profile, especially since the failure of the Prague Spring the shock among the population is still deeply ingrained.

It takes a long stay in this country, talking to a lot of people and disregarding all comparisons with Poland, before this attitude can be fully understood. There is no high regard in this country for the hero who is prepared to act in desperation. The goal is survival. A lot of things happen between adapting oneself for public consumption and internal opposition or emigration.

The Western visitor is dissatisfied with this. He is looking for a bottom line, for going back home with facts in hand. That is perhaps also one reason why Western correspondents hardly dare touch the subject of the church. It is easy to write about Poland. Things are happening there--there are personalities like Walesa; there is nothing like it here.

The dilemma starts with the numbers. How many Catholics have joined the underground church? The question is answered with another question: is there such a thing as an underground church, in what cities and under what leaders?

The campaigns, attempts at intimidation and arrests--the last in March 1983, of 20 Franciscan monks, most of whom have since been released--are an expression of the party's worry that the underground church is developing into a "Vatican fifth column." Ludovit Pezlar, secretary of the Slovak Communist Party and a member of the presidium, recently talked about an "illegal church underground" in which "anti-socialist element" laymen consorted with secretly ordained priests and bishops. The Franciscan General in Rome, John Vaughn, said in his protest that the church was the

sole remaining objective of the permanent revolutionary struggle. Party officials accuse the Pope of trying to create "Polish conditions." Priests being interrogated concerning the underground church always cite the constitutional guarantees of religious freedom.

However, the state in turn points to Article 178 of the criminal code, which places the church and religious activities under the supervision of the state. By their pressure tactics and lack of flexibility, the state and the party have been indirectly responsible themselves for creating the underground. The security police is now busier than before, because churches and parsonages are easier to place under surveillance than are private apartments. As a matter of fact, growing difficulty of surveillance has caused the USSR to grant some religious communities permission to construct houses of prayer.

In Czechoslovakia there is understandable distrust of Czechs who show too much interest in details about the "underground church." By now the state has infiltrated informers everywhere, especially in youth groups. Foreigners, including Catholic priests from the FRG, have brought deep trouble to these groups with their habit of making notes and photographing everything. Materials which were found during searches at the borders were frequently used in trials against priests and laymen. Many a visitor from the West who tries to be helpful, attracts attention to himself and is arrested, has only one wish: get out of here quickly--and talks more than he later wishes he had, and thus helps put his hosts into prison.

The authorities in Prague, Brno and Bratislava are aware of the role played by the members of the orders which were dissolved in 1950. There are only a few. But they have gone through the torture chambers of Stalinist prisons; they are clever and experienced. They know whom they can talk to and whom to distrust. They refuse spectacular "interviews," but they continue their pastoral duties in the underground despite being forbidden to practice them.

It is no secret that as a result of a quota system in the two Czech seminaries, Litomerice and Bratislava, priests are ordained in the underground. Fortunately, theological study material is available for their training which is better than that used at the State-controlled seminaries. Entire treatises are copied and translated by the underground. In Brno the security police managed to uncover a large underground offset printing plant.

Anyone writing about the church in Czechoslovakia usually cites the terrible shortage of priests in the parishes, not to mention the dioceses which are not managed by bishops. He will mention the situation of the association of priests known as "Pacem in terris" which has been forbidden by a decree of the Holy See and which therefore finds itself in a deep crisis. On the other hand, one can observe thousands of people at the big pilgrimage sites in the summer. Hundreds of them walk the stations of the cross with a priest in the afternoons. In Slovakia especially there are some remnants

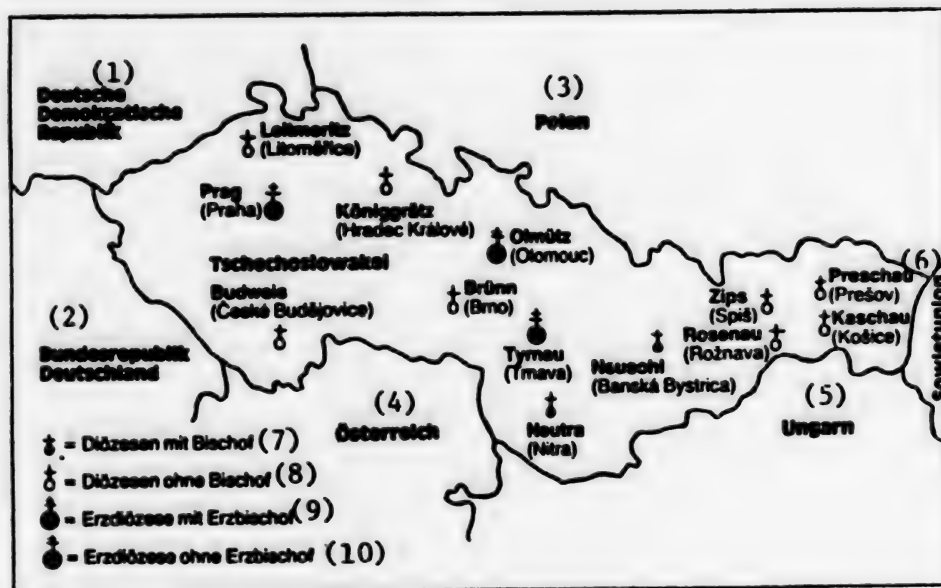
of a popular church. But there too large segments of the young population have been estranged from the church. Religious instruction in the school is not possible; the family does not know enough about the faith to pass it on.

Catholic churches exist in industrial centers; they are visited on Sundays by a dozen people, mostly old women. But there is hardly a Catholic town parish church in which there might be a wedding ceremony after mass or where children might be brought to be baptized. On Saturday before Easter and Easter Sunday the faithful jam the church all the way to the staircase. The situation varies by different parts of the country and different towns.

Priests state that years ago they were ridiculed and attacked by children and youths on the streets, as a result of anti-religious indoctrination in the schools. This no longer happens. There is so much resignation that mottoes and agitation no longer have any effect. There is just as much loneliness among the priests, especially the old ones. Their emotional and intellectual deprivations are made even worse by the lack of reading material. Anything published under state control is primitive. Recently an aged priest looked for help to a priest in the GDR and asked him for a visit. Wrote he: "You are surely busier than I am. I am by now almost like Christ on the cross. I suffer, but I can still pray. We are still joined together in prayer every day. I am all alone in my house and will surely die soon."

Anyone who has ever visited a priest like that knows more about the church, finds out more about religious life than he can learn from statistics. He finds out that where there is faith there is always hope.

Parishes without priests, dioceses without bishops (as shown on the map published by the Ackermann community in Munich)--church persecution. Every day -rings more catastrophic news from Czechoslovakia, which are often also testimony to the courage of persecuted Christians. Thus, according to a report by the Catholic News Agency, Slovak Catholics have recently informed the population about the large-scale police action against the Franciscan order in Czechoslovakia, with photographs and data about those arrested. Especially in this situation of persecution it is vitally important for Christians there that the West knows about this and spreads the word. Among other things, the Ackermann community has made it its special task. A few days ago it published a critical analysis about the "Priests' Association Pacem in Terris" in the series "Materials about the Situation of the Church in the CSSR" (177 pp, DM 12.50; 8000 Munich 40, P.O. Box 149). This factual and carefully documented book fills a need for knowledge for all those who want to be informed about the situation of the church in this neighboring country.



- KEY:
1. GDR
 2. FRG
 3. Poland
 4. Austria
 5. Hungary
 6. USSR
 7. Diocese with bishop
 8. Diocese without bishop
 9. Archdiocese with archbishop
 10. Archdiocese without archbishop

9273

CSO: 2300/286

REFUGEE AGRICULTURE EXPERT INTERVIEWED ON AID TO MOZAMBIQUE

West Berlin DIE TAGESZEITUNG in German 7 Jun 83 p 7

[Reprint of April 1983 interview from Hamburg ENTWICKLUNGSPOLITISCHE KORRESPONDENZ (EPK) No 1, 1983, with Peter Rasch, GDR agriculture expert in Mozambique, 1978-1981, currently residing in Wuppertal, FRG, by Frank Sandvoss and Dorothee Kayser: "Interview with a Former GDR Development Aid Assistant for Mozambique: 'Actually There Is Much That Is Positive'"]

[Text] [Question] As a GDR citizen, how does one become a development aid assistant? Can one apply for such a job, or is there a special course of training for it?

[Answer] No, it is handled very differently from the Western countries. One cannot apply for the position of development aid assistant, one gets selected. In practice, it goes like this: the party needs a specialist as a development aid assistant in country X. Then the files are searched for a person who has the necessary background, training, professional experience and, if possible, a career in the party. One day, you are called to the party office, and somebody says: "Comrade Rasch, we have selected you for a rewarding task. The party of the working class and the government of the GDR are sending you to Mozambique in order to assist the comrades of FRELIMO in development." There is not really a chance to say no. You are taken away from your job, and you start in on language courses and a professional and political training period.

[Question] Can one conclude from this, that the selected development aid assistants go only reluctantly to the Third World, or is this selection considered a privilege?

[Answer] In my experience, only a very few are opposed to going abroad. On the contrary: for various reasons, it is attractive for a GDR citizen to have the chance of working as a development aid assistant. You get to see the world! That is a broadening of horizon for the individual and his family which under GDR conditions is worth more than its weight in gold.

Beyond this aspect of learning, there is also the career aspect. When you return to the GDR after 3 or 4 years abroad, you are a specialist and can

be sure that you are not returned to the same job but will be classified at a higher level....

After all, there are not very many people with experience acquired abroad. Working overseas is also financially attractive. In addition to the very adequate salary abroad, your salary at home also continues. And then you have the possibility of exchanging your money for Deutsch Marks [DM] and sending home what you have saved from the salary abroad....

For this reason, many GDR citizens live like monks abroad in order to save up a DM account, with which they can go shopping in the Intershop for the rest of their lives.

[Question] How was your daily life as a development aid assistant in Mozambique influenced by the fact that you were a GDR citizen? In concrete terms, is the preconception correct that GDR development aid assistants stay primarily among themselves and are subject to a tight supervisory system?

[Answer] Unfortunately, this preconceived idea describes the conditions quite well; I, at any rate, experienced it that way in Mozambique. The development aid assistants knew each other quite well; in many cases they had been trained together. And usually we were together in a clique during work and during leisure hours. And that was expected of us by the party. You could not simply make contact with just anyone, especially not with Westerners. If, for instance, somebody from the FRG sat down quite innocently at your breakfast table in the hotel, this meant stress for the GDR person, because he was obligated to write down a protocol of the conversation....

[Question]and you couldn't get around it?

[Answer] No. The political-ideological control among us was very tight, much tighter than at home. There were also constant indoctrination sessions, party meetings or some kind of obligatory assemblies which left relatively little room for individual private doings in one's spare time. And State Security was always with us. It probably would not have been that way if the GDR did not always have to fear that people would get away. The West tries pretty hard to take away development aid assistants from the GDR. This explains the rigid attitude of State Security. But in the individuals case, this conflict of systems has a very ugly effect on your life and makes your everyday life difficult.

[Question] And what about contact with the locals?

[Answer] That was a bit better. But even in this case, you could not get involved with just anyone. The regulation was that one was to nurture good relations with those Africans who were coworkers. Beyond that, personal relationships with Mozambicans were not to go beyond this area of work. They also were not to extend to groups of society which were opposed to the system, which were perhaps Western-oriented. Actually, one could only get involved with FRELIMO people.

And then, there were of course problems--the same that Westerners have--because of the differences in mentality. Imagine, here comes a petty philistine from the GDR provinces to Africa, with true German values such as discipline and punctuality, and finds out that the blacks don't function! Impossible, that! And then to have to drink beer with them at night yet?! So one mostly hung around with the other GDR people, just like Westerners.

[Question] From a development policy viewpoint, what is your evaluation of the GDR involvement in Mozambique?

[Answer] Actually, there is much that is positive. First, it must be remembered that the GDR already actively supported FRELIMO at a time when this liberation movement was not yet paid any attention in the West, not even by the Left. This gave the GDR a high standing.

After independence, together with material help, many development aid assistants also came into the country and took over important management and technical leadership functions. This was, of course, a double-edged affair since this way it was again Europeans sitting at the economic switches, but it couldn't be helped since no black Mozambican was trained for these functions.

[Question] In which areas was the GDR especially involved?

[Answer] Actually, development aids and specialists from the GDR are active in all important areas: in developing the infrastructure, in police work, in agriculture, in industrial production, in tele-communications and the postal service, among the harbor pilots and in structuring the Central Bank.

On the political level, also, there was rather extensive counseling. If, for instance, someone from the FRELIMO leadership had difficulties with Marxism-Leninism, he simply made a phone call, and one of us went to see him.

[Question] One of the most important evaluation criteria for us is how far aid is a help toward self-help. What about that?

[Answer] That is a good catchword. In Western development aid, the quality is usually measured by the amount of money and the number of follow-up orders. And it is common knowledge that frequently, expensive and unsuitable machinery is put in the African landscape, which only white experts know how to use. It is my impression that, by contrast, self-help is an important motif in GDR development aid. There are solid economic reasons for this:

--For one, the GDR does not have sales problems like the West, i.e. it has to live with production shortages and has no great interest in additional demand from developing countries. Frequently, GDR development aides must recommend that the Mozambicans procure this or that installation from a Western country because the GDR either does not have it, or its use has been planned some other way.

--Under the aspect of self-help it is also important that a GDR development aid assistant is used in dealing with shortage situations at home. In the GDR, not every screw or spare part is available. Thus one learns to improvise, and that holds especially true in a developing country.

--Aid toward self-help is paramount also for the reason that specialists are scarce in the GDR. Nonetheless, not just anyone is sent abroad, but only those technically and politically best qualified. But the GDR actually needs those very people most urgently at home, and also development aid assistants entail expensive hard currency. For this reason, the GDR places great value on training as many Africans as possible in the GDR as technical experts.

[Question] But surely, the GDR also has political and economic self-interests....

[Answer] Obviously. Nobody is trying to hide this. In SED parlance, it is thus: "We support a country which has freed itself from the claws of imperialism and is on the way to becoming a socialist country." The closeness of cooperation can quite easily be read in certain terminologies. For instance, FRELIMO for a long time was a "friendly party"; then one day, it became a "brother party." "Brother party" means that political cooperation is much closer and also includes military agreements. Just check NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: at the Karl-Marx Conference in East Berlin, Samora Machel was present! Other Communist parties only send third-rate people.

The economic self-interests of the GDR have become clearly stronger in recent years. This has to do, on the one hand, with bad experiences with Egypt and, on the other, with the economic pressure under which the GDR finds itself. Close attention is being paid today so that development aid is worth its while.

[Question] What, in concrete terms, does this mean in regard to Mozambique, what is the GDR getting out of it?

[Answer] One tries to import raw materials. For example, the GDR concluded a fishing agreement with Mozambique. The GDR has a highly developed fishing fleet for which fishing grounds become ever scarcer, and Mozambique has plenty of fish near its coast but only miniscule boats. Now the GDR can really go to town fishing down there.

Mozambique also has large bituminous coal and several other mineral deposits. The GDR helps in the mining, and gets part of it. In addition, there are spices, cotton etc. In the meantime, Mozambique is no longer a total business loss for the GDR, but even one of the countries where things are going rather well.

[Question] What do you consider problematical in the GDR engagement in Mozambique?

[Answer] In my experience, what is very problematical is the way in which these stictly, and onesidedly, trained GDR development aid assistants see and deal with matters and apply them too mechanically to Mozambican conditions. Most of them totally lack a certain openness and receptivity toward other infleunces, for instance from a Western leftist viewpoint. Therefore they are not capable of teaching the Mozambicans that it is good and useful to be open to all sides and to select the best. They transmit fixed patterns and structures that are usual in the GDR; this can easily lead to the situation where negative forms, such as inefficiency and bureaucarcy, are also transmitted. But the people who teach these structures by order of the GDR simply do not know any better. It is, however, grotesque that many FRELIMO cadres and intellectuals are so enthusiastic about the GDR that they themselves want to do everything the way it is done in the GDR, since in the entire Eastern bloc everything runs best.

[Conclusion] Many thanks for the interview.

9917

CSO: 2300/282

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

CHURCH-LAYMEN CONFLICTS OVER PEACE ISSUE ANALYZED

Bonn VORWAERTS in German No 18, 28 Apr 83 p 3

[Article by Johannes Nitschmann: "'There is Still Too Much Uncertainty'--
Report by One Who Was Expelled From Peace Movement (East)"]

[Text] The authorities of the GDR are reacting in a completely disconcerted way to the actions of the Christian-inspired peace movement, the more so as young Christians act more and more boldly. But the courageous engagement of the Friends of Peace in East Germany is also provoking conflicts with the church leadership.

"In honorable memory" of the dead in the bombardment of Jena in 1945, young Christians on 19 March of this year at the memorial of the GDR city laid down a wreath. A few minutes later the state police came and disfigured the wreath. The inscription "Swords into Plowshares" was immediately perceived by the protectors of order to be a challenging protest.

A prompt protest came from the members of the "Jena Peace Community," whose charter has been officially approved by the GDR officials for some time now. They protested to the "Honorable chairman of the National Council" because of the prohibition "of our peace announcement." The young Christians described to Erich Honecker himself what happened: "While we were thoughtfully silent, our wreath was made unrecognizable by several civilians. At the same time, we were pushed away by the police."

More or less clearly, the Friends of Peace spelled it out for the chairman: "We are not only reminded by the victims of the bombing attack on Jena on 19 March 1945, but also by the actions against us, how important the preservation of peace is."

The Church and its Allotted Spheres of Action

Naturally Honecker remained silent on the matter, but these protest letters, with which the members of the GDR peace movement are appealing more and more, are disconcerting the administration increasingly. Now and then they hit a nerve in the police functionaries who then tend to overreact.

Peter Roesch, 29, the chairman of the Jena Youth Community, which got itself a reputation far beyond the boundaries of the GDR with its spectacular actions--for example on Christmas Eve of last year when there were 14 arrests--is a victim of these overreactions. A few weeks ago the contentious "peace activist" was deported to the West by the GDR authorities as a political troublemaker and "enemy of the state."

The deportations of Roesch and others, who in the past weeks have also walked across the stage of the many newspapers of the Federal Republic without particular fanfare, has only spurred on the engagement and the activities within the "Jena Peace Community."

Peter Roesch believes that the GDR peace movement has in recent weeks attained an "identity of its own," a "new self-confidence." The former member of the Engineering Corps talks of a "reaction to the increasing militarization" in the GDR population: "There we did something ourselves for the first time. We got it started, and this gave the people a great stimulus," he said in describing the beginning phases.

In between there were quite a few setbacks and disappointments, inquiries and arrests; above all, the conflicts with their own church were very strenuous for the leader of the Protestant Youth Community. Often the church leaders "were put under pressure" by the GDR authorities and "simply yielded," Roesch reported.

An example: The state police had gotten a tip that young Jena Christians of both confessions in March of last year wanted to celebrate a "peace service." The GDR authorities saw in the service liturgy an "act hostile to the state" and let the church leadership know this in no uncertain terms. For the sake of their precious peace, the church leaders canceled the "peace service." The young people simply did not agree with this at all. Said Roesch: "In its own spheres of action, the church can, after all, do in the GDR what it wants; it must simply take advantage of this possibility."

The former leader of the Jena Youth Community, who, according to his own statements, has every reason "to be bitter at his own church," because it unpardonably let him down several times, does not at all want to go so far as others among his like-minded friends and accuse the church leaders of servility or even of "spying for the state organs"; quite to the contrary, he warns against group judgments in matters concerning the church leaders. "There are those of one kind, and those of another," he said.

But on the church's side, according to Roesch, there is "still simply too much uncertainty" as far as the peace movement is concerned, in which for a long time now more Christians have been working. Sometimes there is "perhaps cowardice as well." In many ways the relationship to each other is still "completely unclear."

The Other Peace Movement

The church leaders in Berlin-Brandenburg admitted in their report "On the Responsibility for Peace" of the church only last week that they notice "with a certain concern that there is in the peace question a certain tension between the basis and the leadership of the church." The Brandenburg church leaders address the main point quite openly: in peace circles of the church, they said, there appeared more and more "the problems of human beings who with the present activities were at the same time expressing their anger at the state, their political opposition and inner emigration."

What the church management regards as burdens is only logical to Roesch. Despite all reservations, interference and even disciplining, the statement remains correct: "The church is the only free area in the GDR." It is obvious that the protesters and the malcontents pushed their way in there."

Therefore Roesch cannot understand why to this day there is not a single organization or coalition within the two GDR churches "that looks after the construction troops and full conscientious objectors."

During recent years, the construction troops have met in conspiratorial circles, have developed strategies and have planned aid for the practice. Recently, there have been initial successes in this field. An increasing number of refused construction soldiers successfully sued with a well-founded Christian justification, charging "violation of the military service act."

For the GDR regime, which the Federal German Republic Friends of Peace praise to the skies, the peace movement in its own country presents a challenge they really don't know how to deal with: sometimes the governing organs react quite liberally and tolerantly to requests from the movement, and then again nervously and excitedly, and sometimes they turn with confidence to the church leaders and request them to please keep their young people under control.

When the "Jena Peace Community" announced an official demonstration for 18 March of this year, the officials referred them to the state announcement on the same day in memory of the bombing of the former university city of Jena.

The Friends of Peace cooperated, but came of course with their own signs on which they demanded "Make Peace Without Arms!" or "Get Mad!" The protectors of order really did get mad at such insubordinate words and clubbed the young people out of the crowd; it made spectacular scenes in front of thousands of people.

They were informed about the true reason for this clash a few hours later by leaflets that went secretly through the city. The freshly printed notes reported from "eyewitnesses" about the events at the official peace announcement: "At the market place, in a large crowd, some people suddenly had their transparencies yanked away from them and torn up. They were shoved aside, shouted at, insulted and threatened. Wooden frameworks were broken

on human bodies. Small children were rudely shoved aside and were hit on the ears with signs. Mothers screamed and cried."

A few lines further the leaflet said: "All this happened while speeches were made from the platform about peace and socialism, about capitalistic use of force and NATO missiles," The "honorable chairman of the National Council," the man to whom the "peace activists," as they call themselves, gave a detailed report of these events, should give a reason for this.

While the Federal German peace movement, above all probably because of small communistic splinter groups, sometimes showed remarkable fear of contact in solidarity announcements with the peace movement in East Germany, Peter Roesch took part only a few weeks after his deportation in the local peace movement to combat "one-sidedness": "All announcements and demonstrations for peace in the Federal Republic must at the same time be actions of solidarity with the peace movements in the GDR," he demanded.

Irritations about the Friends (West)

And the former leader of the youth community also struggles against another argument that appears primarily in the Federal German youth organization: The "Sign of Atonement/Peace Services Action" but also, for example, the Organization of German Catholic Youth (BDKJ) warn their members against "taking in" the GDR peace movement. A confidential BDKJ paper says, for example, "The unmistakability of these initiatives must not be prejudiced by those taken in from the Federal Republic. The fact that the peace initiatives were developed in a particularly GDR-formulated framework must be considered in announcements of solidarity."

Roesch cannot quite grasp this strange distance: "Naturally we work under quite different circumstances in the GDR, and we cannot mount a large demonstration overnight," he said, but he added that it was precisely the powerful demonstrations of the peace movement in West Germany that "created great courage" on the other side of the Wall.

For this reason alone it is so very important for the young people in Jena and elsewhere to have contact with the Federal Germans. Roesch's appeal is: "Travel over to the GDR as often as possible to talk to the people there!" The 29 year old said that in Jena collections were often made to pay for the compulsory monetary exchange for young people from the Federal Republic when they come over here: "So eager are they over there for information from the West."

9124

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

GROWING POPULARITY OF CHURCH-SPONSORED EVENTS REPORTED

Bonn DIE WELT in German 17 May 83 p 4

['Politics' feature article signed 'hrk,' datelined 'dpa, Berlin': "GDR Youth Poses Urgent Questions--40,000 People Came to the Church Meeting in Erfurt"]

[Text] With a public commitment up to now without example in the "GDR" to religious freedom, to alternatives to the state-ordered regime, to more openness and sincerity in "GDR" society, and with the enthusiastically applauded demand in a "Word from the Church Assembly" to "give more room and more right to imagination for peace," the first of seven "GDR" church meetings of the year of Luther ended.

About 40,000, mainly young people, dominated the scene in the impressive arrangement, which, however, was hardly noticed in the "GDR" press. In the final meeting at the Erfurt cathedral square, the words "room and right" for independent peace work received just as much applause as the statement: "The production, preparation and use of weapons of mass destruction are against God's word and command."

"Not deterrence but the building of trust is today the reasonable thing." In his speech, which was often interrupted by applause, the Erfurt provost Heino Falcke said, among other things, "Peace comes into being where one dares to, and awakens trust. Therefore, we cannot go along where distrust or even hatred is sown.... We cannot go along where force is sown that does not protect, but finally destroys everything."

Nonbinding Answers

In the "question period," about 3,000 young people in the crowded cathedral experienced the necessarily cautious attitude of the bishops in the "GDR," an attitude that always stuck to the individual case. The young people demanded, for example, answers to the repeatedly asked question: "Why can't we wear crosses in school? After all, we have freedom of religion!"

The question referred to the small, wine-red church union crosses with the motto "Dare to Trust" printed on them that cannot be worn in various schools of the "GDR."

Bishop Werner Leich, chairman of the ecclesiastical Luther Committee, advised the pupils to ask "in a friendly and determined manner" about the reason for the ban, but not to make the cross into an object of argument. At least according to school regulations, the wearing of crosses is not forbidden.

Answers that were more nonbinding than concrete also came at various peace forums, at which the young people, among other things, brought the following points out for discussion:

--"Are there ABC weapons in the GDR?"

--"Why does our government support pacifism in the Federal Republic and discriminate against it in the GDR?"

--"What can one do against the increasing militarization in schools, in training and in other areas?"

--"Are there possibilities for a real alternative service for conscientious objectors?"

--"Why is refusal to perform military service punished so severely in the GDR?"

Something Completely Different for a Change

In a poll of young people that ARD correspondent Eckart Bethke (East Berlin) made and that Radio Free Berlin broadcast yesterday, the mood and way of thinking of the young "GDR" generation showed itself. In answer to the question of what led them to the church meeting, they answered:

"Yes, it is sometimes quite interesting to be here for a change, something different from other meetings that are held--Pentecost meetings (of the Free German Youth, etc.) or other things that are offered--the church meeting is a little more colorful and it also offers a bit of an alternative."

"I am interested in the atmosphere, how the people react--to meetings that are not obligatory, but voluntary."

"After all, the church has something to offer...something that is different from what we have been offered for 10 years in a general education school...."

"There is so much talk going on. The church itself doesn't have any clear point of view except that we--how should I put it--should not be afraid, but the church is afraid, too."

"The church has a lot of leeway here, an inner freedom, and it is therefore obliged to set out on new paths in communal work, and this is also particularly something for youth...for the young people it is really a task, and this interests me in the church meeting, because this definitely demonstrates the idea strongly."

The meetings of Protestant Christians will be continued with their meetings in Rostock (10 to 12 June). The most active state church--the Saxon--will have its meeting from 7 to 10 July in Dresden. Here up to 100,000 people are expected.

9124

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LABOR SHORTAGES, LOW PRODUCTIVITY, UNDEREMPLOYMENT DISCUSSED

Budapest IFJU KOMMUNISTA in Hungarian No 5, 1983 pp 2-5

[Article by Miklos Monus, "Inside the Gate, Outside the Gate Without Work"]

[Text] Is there unemployment compensation in Hungary?

It is difficult to find a young person who would answer "yes" to this question. This is, for example, how Jozsef Toth, a 23 year old locksmith sees it:

--We do not and could not have unemployment, consequently we do not and could not have unemployment compensation.

The fact is that we do! At least officially. In the words of state secretary Albert Racz, president of the State Wage and Labor Office:

"According to an old and fortunately forgotten decree the amount of unemployment compensation is between 300 to 600 forints. This is also an indication that the decree has not had to be adjusted to our changing life. It has been a good 20 years since the last time such benefits were paid out."

In the 18 March 1983 issue of NEPSZAVA, for example, there were 38 so-called small and 36 large (eighth and quarter page, etc.) ads in which enterprises and institutions were advertising for manpower.

According to the ads, Hungary has a significant manpower shortage despite the fact that 85 percent of our men and 74 percent of our women of working age are active wage earners. For all practical purposes this means full employment since the remainder are students and sick people, and there is only an insignificant number who for various reasons cannot or do not want to find a job.

According to the latest survey of the Central Statistical Office, our country's working age population is 6,115,000 people (122,000 less than in 1976). 1,620,000 of these are employed in industry, 382,000 in the construction industry, 395,000 in transportation and water management and 982,000 in other non-agricultural sectors. In the last few years there has been a slight growth in the size of our cooperative peasantry; its proportion has increased from its earlier level of 13.3 percent to 13.8 percent, although this was not

so much characteristic of the sectors involved in basic activities as of the auxiliary branches and the repair and assembly fields.

The Hungarian national economy, therefore, cannot expect an increase in the work force, and only at the expense of others will our various sectors be able to increase their own labor force.

All we need to do is call the managers of our advertising enterprises and we can sense from their voices that they are not overly optimistic about getting responses to their ads from potential employees. The Spinning Machine Factory of the Light Industry Machine Building Enterprise is looking for workers to increase their capitalist exports. This is what he said:

"Three or four years ago there were 600, today there are little more than 300 of us working here at the Spinning Machine Factory. Our efforts aimed at modernizing our production equipment were not enough to completely offset this reduction in our work force. According to this year's plan, our capitalist exports will increase by 30 percent over last year's level, but we could double this increase if we had 50 more workers."

In the (hot) plants of the Csepel Works' iron metallurgy operations it has gotten to the point where the manpower shortage is threatening the continuity of production. A similar situation exists in most factories which require hard manual labor, especially among those which operate continuously in three shifts.

According to the ads there is also a shortage of office workers. Perhaps there is not a single enterprise which would not immediately employ a typist, and many are also looking for pay-roll clerks and administrators.

There are few megyes in the country that are not faced with a pressing manpower shortage. One such megye is Szabolcs-Szatmar. In some of its districts there are more job applicants than there are openings for them to fill. (A similar situation exists in some areas of Borsod and Zala.) At the same time, however, it is also a fact that for more than 10 years the megye's "capital city", Nyiregyhaza has been suffering from a manpower shortage. The reason for this is that the 10,000 people who could find work in local offices do not accept the job either because the job is not clean enough for them, or because they lack the necessary qualifications.

The main factor which has helped to alleviate the labor shortage that has characterized our larger industrial cities has been commuting. Hungary is the only country in Europe where almost 20 percent of the wage earners commute to work. According to census data, in 1930 142,000 people were commuting, in 1956 216,000, in 1966 901,000 and according to most recent, 1979 data their number has reached 1,047,000 (141,000 of whom are employed in Budapest).

One-third of our skilled workers commute to work and the ratio of commuters among semi-skilled and unskilled workers is even higher; every other person among them is a so-called visiting worker. The resources spent on their transportation, in the final analysis, significantly add to the cost of production.

As a result of this long manpower shortage, our enterprise managers are becoming increasingly concerned about future labor shortages. This situation also provides ground for abuse. There is not a person in Hungary who is not aware of the fact that there are many workers in our specialized industrial enterprises who accept "private" jobs even during official working hours (such as house painting and decorating, lock-fitting, etc.), if--depending on the part of the country and the time of year--they are offered a daily fee of at least 500 to 1,000 forints. Nor is it a secret to anyone that some elevator repairmen, stokers, electricians, etc., working under contract for various apartment construction projects, are often using their official working hours to do work for their second jobs, while their primary jobs are performed by their fellow workers, and probably not without compensation.

One might think that the reason these workers are able to find time to moonlight is because their norms are too lax, or because the output required of them during an 8 hour shift can be attained in 4 hours. This would mean that a worker can complete his enterprise assignment in 4 hours and after that he can move on to work on his moonlighting job which may even be in the same building. Well, according to the unanimous opinion of our experts our norms are not lax. The time people spend on moonlighting is taken away from their basic working hours, which can only be done by not adhering to technical instructions or by simply passing over a certain time-consuming part of the work process. While this kind of consciously shoddy (and tolerated) work may last until the time of delivery and acceptance, it will soon begin to break down requiring even more workers to repair the damage. Shoddy work, therefore, further aggravates our manpower shortages.

Before anyone may begin to think that because of this pressing manpower shortage, characteristic mainly of Budapest, production may even come to a halt soon in many places, let us look at a qualified opinion--which has also been published elsewhere--by Judit Papay, head of main department of the Capital City Council, according to which Budapest's manpower shortage only seems pressing, but in reality it is not pressing at all.

At one time our Budapest enterprises used to report manpower shortages of 50,000 to 60,000--explained the main department head--, last year, however, they reported only half of that amount. In reality even this does not reflect the actual situation, and we expect these figures to come even lower. There are two reasons for this: One is that in many areas production, or at least its rate of growth, has declined. The other reason is that as a result of our regulatory changes enterprise planning has also been placing a growing emphasis on the economical use of manpower and resources.

Consequently, therefore, most of our manpower-related tensions are due to the fact that our workers are not employed in the areas and activities where their work could yield the most effective results. There are still large enough reserves available which--by way of better plant and work organization, improved performance, tightened work discipline and more differentiated wage structure--can be mobilized. But there are also some sectors where manpower shortages present a real problem. These include some specialized fields within the construction industry, certain areas in our food trade and in services

to the population, and there is also a shortage of specialized employees in education and public health. The situation could be better were it not for the limited number of instances last year of newly introduced labor-saving measures and organized inter-enterprise redistributions, and for the fact that our economic organizations did not request any assistance from the local employment agencies.

Our enterprises have not, or have only scarcely taken advantage of their internal manpower redistribution possibilities. Only a few permanent and final redistributions have been made, although there have been some examples of reassignments for one or two months. It is among these latter that we could list the following--one of several--case, which occurred at the State Construction Enterprise No. 31. Workers in that case were taken off a half-completed project so that they could be used to help meet the deadline on another construction that was determined to be more important. Another interesting example is that of the Taurus Rubber Producing Enterprise: there, following the production profile clarification, they were going to reassign 35 to 40 workers to a different line of work, but before the decision was even announced most of the workers quit.

The first systematic reassignment of a larger number of workers occurred in Gyor. The case attracted enormous attention. Raba decided to let go several hundred of its workers, more precisely: following careful preparations it redirected and recommended them to other enterprises. This treatment was received with great indignation by many who saw it as a violation of their legal right to work as guaranteed by the socialist state. While emotions have subsided since then, it was also the last such incident that we have seen. Yet at the time there were quite a few people who felt that finally the ice has broken and that more and more enterprises would try to put an end to paid unemployment within their gates by laying off excess personnel.

Many people are convinced that the manpower shortage which is claimed to exist everywhere is only an illusion.

Most people--regardless of their positions--would only agree to talk about the subject openly if their opinions were left anonymous.

Here is what the plant manager of a large enterprise said:

[Answer] In a minute I would hire 20 to 30 skilled workers, mostly turners and millers.

[Question] If you could act according to your convictions and did not have to take into account any regulations, what would you do?

[Answer] In other words you want me to pretend how I would make production as profitable as possible?

[Question] Yes.

[Answer] Well, first of all I would throw out about ten of our lathes because they are junk, and because they have only made large-scale production on them more costly than the earnings they help to bring in. After that I would take firm measures to ensure that our skilled workers have only one concern: operating their machines. For today these workers have to spend at least 1 to 2 hours of their working time doing jobs which are really none of their concern, such as procuring tools, hauling materials, etc. Furthermore, we have about 10 to 15 people who do not belong here. I would give them three months to prove that they can work. If they can, they may stay, if not, it is good-bye. This, of course, would only be possible if those who stayed could be paid according to their performance. I myself would ask for higher pay, because I would also have a great deal more work to do.

This is how the leader of a gold wreath-receipient socialist brigade, operating at a small enterprise saw it:

--If I had a chance to do it I would disband the brigade, then I would hand ten of the members their workbooks accompanied by a warm handshake and then I would get together with the remaining ten and would organize a shop where we could produce at least as much as the twenty of us are producing now.

The following comment came from the organization department head of another large enterprise:

--I would do what, in view of the experiences of our still new enterprise-based business work partnerships, we should be doing everywhere. We know what a person is capable of if he is given the incentive to work. Business work partnerships operating at the same plant are turning out 20 to 200 percent more than the traditional work brigades. It is true that their remuneration depends not on wage regulations that are full of controls, but on their own performance. Business partnerships do not tolerate disorganization, they do not accept people who are inclined to relax on the job and they fire anyone who even once is found to have taken unauthorized leave.

This is what we had in a Budapest (although it could be anywhere) daycare center:

[Answer] Our cleaning woman has been ill for three months and we have received no one to replace her. We are becoming fed up with having to start scrubbing after work.

[Question] Are they paying you for it?

[Answer] We are getting one-third of the cleaning woman's wage which divided among the three of us amounts to 200 forints each. For a fraction of the money, of course, we are expected to do the whole job. If we could get full compensation we would not even hire a cleaning woman.

Lately--due to production cutbacks necessitated in many places by economic difficulties and to the new incentive system (in effect since 1 Jan 1983) aimed at promoting a more economy-minded management of resources and basic

wage funds than before--an increasing number of enterprises have found that some of their workers have become unneeded.

In Hodmezovasarhely, the Aluminum Constructions Factory was unable to keep 50 of its workers busy due to a delay in its raw material deliveries. So it quickly "loaned" them to the Porcelain Factory, also located in Hodmezovasarhely, which in turn was facing a sudden shortage of manpower brought on by greater than expected Western orders. Both enterprises fared well, as did their workers and the national economy.

There have been similar instances elsewhere but only insignificantly few.

According to an article by Dr Jozsef Rozsa published in the Jan 1983 issue of MUNKAGYI SZEMLE: "There are still not enough employer-initiated quality exchanges among our employed workers, although last year employer initiatives in employment-termination cases finally did begin to make themselves felt."

Laszlo Lehocky, Central Committee department head, KISZ [Communist Youth League] had the following opinion:

--Full employment must be guaranteed but not the way it is done today, with some areas facing overemployment while others are suffering from labor shortages. We must reach the point where, if possible, everyone will be able to work in a job which reflects his qualifications and where his activities will be beneficial to society. There is a strong connection between the two, for without the latter we cannot maintain full employment if we also want to take profitability into account. We must accept the fact that there is little we can do to affect the changes that are taking place in the world, and that in the interest of our development we must try to adjust to them. Adjustment from this point of view means that, according to the requirements, we must modernize the training and extension training of our young people, both in terms of its program and its regional organizations. Manpower must be used where it is the most profitable. So far no one has been able to outline the best way to reach this goal. It is certain, however, that we have much work ahead of us, and that the determination and continuous implementation of these tasks cannot be delayed.

Dr Istvan Wintsche, chief consultant, main department of personnel, Ministry of Industry had this to say:

--Fluctuations in the labor force are determined neither by our enterprise managers nor by us, but primarily by economic necessity.

And there should be no question in anyone's mind about what our economic necessities dictate: an improvement in the efficiency of labor.

9379

CSO: 2500/303

MINISTER FINDS EDUCATIONAL, TEACHING STANDARDS LACKING

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 4 Jun 83 p 7

[Article by Bela Kopeczi, minister of culture and education: "For the Sake of a Stable School Value System"]

[Text] It has often been said by many that the central figure in education is the grade-school and secondary level teacher. The validity of this argument can be felt every day, yet when it is stated like this it seems abstract. Our age is characterized by mass education and not only in the grade schools and high schools but to a certain extent even in the universities. The number of educators has increased and today in Hungary we have 170,000 registered teachers. At the same time, however, there has been a similar increase in our other white-collar strata, such as among our technical intelligentsia. This has also brought an end to the profession's "privileged status": mass education has affected the material and moral recognition which it has received and at the same time it has also had an impact on the social position and prestige of our educators. I would like to stress that this is not only happening in Hungary, it is a world phenomenon. This, however, should not give us comfort, for it is still true that it is the educator whose preparedness, talent and exemplary conduct determines the effectiveness of education and the extent to which he is able to disseminate lasting knowledge and values.

When examining the place of the educator we also have to look at the question of educator availability as well as the status of their training and extension training. 5.6 percent of our kindergarten teachers and 3.8 percent of our grade-school and secondary level teachers today are still uncertified. And while we have also seen this phenomenon in other countries, we cannot resign ourselves to allowing almost 5,000 uncertified educators to work in our institutions. What we need, therefore--especially in Budapest and Pest megye--is to raise the enrollment levels of our existing educational training institutions and to establish new ones. It was as part of this decision that the Csepel branch of the Ho Chi Minh College of Eger was incorporated--as a college-level teacher training faculty--into the framework of the ELTE [Lorand Eotvos University of Arts and Sciences], in the hope that the university's faculty of arts and sciences would also enhance the training of grade school teachers. Starting next school year, the Janus Pannonius University of Pecs will also begin a complex teacher training program that will attempt to integrate the training of upper-level grade school teachers and university instructors.

In addition to raising enrollment and establishing new institutions we are also trying to use other methods, such as extension training, to solve our educator shortage. This, however, is still a few more years away since we are only able to meet 96 percent of our present needs and the new demographic wave of the next few years is expected to present us with even newer demands, especially in the upper grades of grade school. Nevertheless, in order to satisfy our schools needs for educators we must even accept the danger of overqualifying people. Moreover, we must also provide the necessary economic conditions to ensure that our educators remain in their field. If everything works out as planned, starting from 1987 in the kindergartens, and from 1986 and 1990, respectively, in the lower and upper grades of our grade schools we will no longer have to employ uncertified educators.

We attach extremely great importance to the organization of extension training for our educators. Our recommendation regarding this question has already been prepared and it has been verified by various professional and social organs. Our idea is to make after work extension training compulsory or recommended at a certain age by linking it to self-improvement, seminars and lectures, and to reinforce it with tests that would also have an effect on wages. This extension training would be organized by our capital city and local pedagogic institutions in conjunction with other universities and colleges. All scientific pedagogic and cultural activities which contribute to the self-improvement of our educators and to the enhancement of their intellectual life will be considered extension training. It is intolerable that in the very profession where there are continual reforms and where the body of knowledge and the methods used are constantly changing there is no adequate system of extension training that would help the scientist-teacher find his place.

For increased social prestige it is not enough merely to expect everyone to do his job properly; this work must also be given financial and moral recognition by our society. One of the objectives specified in the April 1982 resolution of the central Committee is to improve the living and working conditions of our educators. We have already begun working on recommendations regarding this matter and we hope that by the second half of the year we will be able to present to the government a comprehensive report that not only deals with wage problems, but also addresses the socio-political questions which regulate our educators' obligations. Obviously, our country's difficult economic situation does have an effect on when and to what extent our society is able to improve our educators' income conditions. Our task is to prepare, by also taking this into account, some realistic recommendations that will help to raise the quality of education, improve our educators' work and provide them recognition that reflects their role in society. In short, our aim is to improve their living and working conditions by stressing those factors which pertain to content and quality. There are also some economic questions of detail that will have to be examined separately and in advance, such as wages for new teachers and for educators working in institutions for the handicapped and in reformatory schools, the overtime, bonus and premium system and the question of compensation for those involved in adult education.

Since in every respect of our society's development we have been placing a special emphasis on the factors of quality, I believe this would be especially

appropriate in our cultural life. The main quality factor in education is the pedagogue. This is what we keep in mind when we talk about applying the principles of qualification, suitability and performance.

We consider it to be one of our important duties to improve the administration of public education and to continue the democratization of the inner life of our schools. The ministry has also prepared a recommendation aimed at improving the administration of education according to which while local councils will continue to have overall control, we must, in order to ensure the continued development of content activities, work out a new system of professional controls. This means that our capital city and local educational institutions will be strengthened and they will be run by principals whose appointment is also contingent upon the opinion of the Ministry of Culture. These are the institutions that will control the school inspectors, and working with them they will assist in the general supervision over the direction and monitoring of our schools' content work. In Budapest one version of this system is already in effect and it appears it has yielded some results.

School principal positions will be filled by competition and in those areas where applicants are chosen by vote the educational staff will be given a greater say in making the selection. Principals will be appointed for a predetermined length of time. In agreement with the local councils we would like, in this way, to increase the independence of our schools and to strengthen the sense of responsibility and the spirit of cooperation among our educational staffs. In professional questions, such as in the selection of elective subjects, our educational staffs will be given greater decision-making rights. While it must be added that our existing regulations already provide some important rights, such as in adopting the work plan, not everywhere do they take advantage of them. Increasing the independence and the responsibilities of our educational staffs, in my opinion, will also have an effect on the education of our children and on the team work among them.

Although, naturally, the main concern of these measures is education itself, we believe that they may also have an effect on the relationship between our schools and our society. The democratization which our schools have undergone requires our small communities to have increased independence and greater responsibilities, but not at the cost of becoming isolated from our larger communities. In the case of the schools this is even less possible since through the parents they cannot avoid remaining in contact with at least their own regions and districts. One of the things which used to be of great concern to us, especially from a political and ideological point of view, was the problem of dual education: one received at the school and one at home. Today we are concerned mainly with the extent to which the value systems of the parents and of the schools coincide in not just a few, but in every sphere of life, and especially from the moral point of view. While they may not be accepted by some minority groups of our society, schools which operate under a stable value system are certain to enjoy the approval of the great majority.

I would like to make a few general comments regarding the debates that recently have been surrounding our schools. Many have been criticizing the schools for failing to provide a well-rounded general education, and for turning out

children who often cannot even speak or write properly. They also criticize them for producing young people who are unable to cope with society's contradictions, which some of them attribute to the failure of our schools to inspire a sufficiently stable system of values, or to the fact that the value system which our schools advocate is too idealistic. While, of course, there is a lot of truth in these criticisms, they also contain something that is fundamentally unfair: they separate our schools from those external factors pertaining to society as a whole which determine people's respect for education, their appreciation of work and their moral views. By pointing this out I am not trying to downplay the responsibility of our schools, for it is beyond question that the community which they constitute is to a certain extent isolated from society, and therefore it must have its own norms. I merely wish to call attention to the need for more realistic evaluations. Society must not only criticize, but also help our schools. Our schools, on the other hand, must live up to their tasks; in other words, they must provide a modern and adequate general and professional education, they must become institutions of learning which, in the spirit of active humanism, advocate a system of values that is both useful and invigorating for humanity, for our country and for socialism.

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CSO: 2500/297

HUNGARY'S BERECH ON 1956 EVENTS, REFORMS

AU091125 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 6 Jun 83 pp 3-5

[Maria Wagrowska interview with Janos Berecz, editor-in-chief of NEPSZABADSAG, in Budapest: "A Finished Chapter"; date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Question] The fourth of November [1956] was a turning point in the sociopolitical life of your country. Do you remember that day?

[Answer] On that day, I was awakened by the roar of cannon. I began to turn the tuning knob of my radio and all at once I heard the voice of Comrade Munnich, who together with Comrade Kadar was taking part in forming the Revolutionary Center. He said that a worker-peasant government has arisen and it had decided to wage battle against the counterrevolution. For the purpose of breaking up this counterrevolution, he had turned to the Soviet Union for assistance. He said it had been necessary to decide whether armed battle, bearing the characteristics of civil war, was to continue in Hungary, or whether it should be quickly ended so that we could get down to solving new political, social, economic and ideological tasks as quickly as possible.

The armed battle really ended on 9 November. The armed counterrevolutionary groups were eliminated or left Budapest and other cities and made their way to Western Europe, the United States, and so on.

[Question] What was the attitude of individual strata of society at the time? Could you describe the attitude of various classes, strata, or social groups toward the party and Hungarian state during the first few years after the 1956 events? What sort of situation existed among the workers?

[Answer] The workers who still remembered the revolutionary period of battle with Horthy and who fought for socialist authority over 1945 quickly oriented themselves in the new situation. However, they were frightened; what is more, they had been frightened by means of arms. Two groups existed among the workers, even among those who supported the armed battle: one group originating from the pauperized petty bourgeoisie and even from the property classes, and the other one consisting of young workers who, full of romanticism and enthusiasm, believed they were going to write a new history of Hungary.

One should pause here for a moment to think: How was it possible to lead them onto the wrong road? It was possible because we made serious mistakes before 1956—we let lawlessness take root. Although a clean-up process was already beginning in the party, what was dominant was not the correcting of mistakes, but a battle between the two extreme groups: dogmatic sectarianism and rightwing revisionism. This was the reason behind the development of the mass democratic movement in Hungary which aimed to clean up socialism from all the layers of mistakes and distortions so that it could serve the nation in accordance with Hungarian law and Hungarian circumstances. That work in plants and coalmines resumed in the first half of 1957 and that strikes were finally dispensed with is thanks above all to the workers. They removed the spokesmen of counterrevolution from their midst. They knew that solid work and dialogue serves the country's construction best.

[Question] It is young people who are usually excited by political events.

[Answer] The academic youth were the first to go out into the streets in Hungary, as early as 23 October 1956. They thought marching through the streets with enthusiasm and with a song on their lips would help the cause of socialism. But when shots rang out in the evening behind the backs of a crowd of over 100,000 people, most of the young people dispersed. I was involved with the youth intelligentsia in the youth movement during this time. Twenty people from this circle lost their lives. Young people were very disoriented as a result of the events, and during the period of consolidation the situation turned against them. In January 1957, discussions commenced on whether the academic youth carried some of the blame. This question was later expounded as follows: Was it not the intelligentsia who organized the counterrevolution?

[Question] Was this question addressed to all intelligentsia groups?

[Answer] The technical intelligentsia tried to prevent the destruction of machines and equipment so that work might be continued and the country rebuilt. The party found a common language with the technical intelligentsia relatively easily.

However, active spokesmen of the opposition were concentrated in the union of literary people. Some literary people led illegal activity even after 4 November. This is why the authorities decided to suspend the literary union. The government said at the time that it was not going to set up a new union, but would only make the existence of a literary union possible when a significant part of writers proved their loyalty toward socialist Hungary. They sobered up when some of them began to be punished for energetic activity against the Republic, just like every other type of citizen was. Talks commenced with some writers. There were also literary men who kept silent, although they did not refuse talks with the party leadership.

[Question] Did journalists react the same way as the literary people?

[Answer] One could observe the same kind of disorientation in the journalists milieu, as well as various ways of thinking. Some journalists commenced

putting a party paper together immediately after 4 November, even though they had been threatened and even though an attempt had been made to burn the paper before their eyes while saying that "the same thing will happen to you too." Other papers began to emerge with similar difficulties. There was also an opposite extreme in existence--a group which wanted to continue hostile political activity. Just like the literary men who led this activity, they found themselves in collision with the law and were treated according to the legal regulations in force. Most of them were disoriented. They were wondering who was right, whether this socialism that Janos Kadar was proposing would indeed be better, and whether people would consider them evil if they started writing. The moods dissipated very slowly, nonetheless the number of journalists writing articles began to rise. In view of such a situation, the old union of journalists could not be allowed to exist. Nevertheless, it was not dissolved, only suspended. The government elected a plenipotentiary for looking after the union's assets.

[Question] How long did the reconstruction of the party itself last?

[Answer] The reorganization of the party was basically finished on 1 May. On that day, one quarter of the party's earlier members were still members, plus about 50,000 new members. From that moment on, development proceeded in such a direction that only valuable people joined the party. The party defined its policy in an unequivocal manner, expressing the stance that socialism is for the entire nation, and that is why it must be the deed of the entire nation. The party must never find itself in a situation where it builds a socialist society on its own. It must do this with the entire nation.

[Question] Was this the starting point for national agreement?

[Answer] It was above all the starting point for dialogue with the community. In 1958, people already started to ask questions. They asked what had happened in Hungary in 1956. We replied that counterrevolution had happened. Very many people did not agree with this. We had to explain that the entire chain of events cannot be assessed subjectively, but one must consider in what direction the sequence of events led and what it led to. We argued that it was counterrevolution from society's point of view because in the end, the events and the course of battle led to the conviction that it was necessary to overthrow people's authority and restore the former system of authority.

From the point of view of the nation, it was a tragedy, since it caused human loss, upset life, and caused damage worth about 22 million forints. It caused a great domestic crisis among people, who reoriented themselves as the events went on and who had to admit in the end that one can also act in favor of a bad cause when one has good intentions.

In the second half of the fifties there was a discussion in Hungary which led to the question: What kind of socialism do we want? And then we realized, that we do not have to fear new descriptions. We said that we support continuity and renewal. By continuity we understood all the values

which the nation had exhibited earlier and everything that was good before 1956. Renewal, however, meant that we have to answer every question in this country and that we must always emerge from the specific situation in which we are.

[Question] Questions appear in the West that you use capitalist methods.

[Answer] The answer to this is simple: 98 percent of property is social property. The state also controls private initiative and establishes the field for maneuver. But what is most important is that we have worked out effective forms of management which support socialism. So we do not fear the judgment you have expressed.

[Question] One might think that the above Western argument is a feature of the anti-socialist propaganda calculated to set the socialist states apart.

[Answer] In the present situation, we can feel the influence of the international propaganda war in two areas. Western propaganda states that reforms are necessary, and then that reforms are not everything and that it is necessary to go further. We say the same thing in the party, but those who think dogmatically are afraid of anything new and they ask: "Do we want to go back to what we had before?" Therefore the dogmatists are frightened. However, others who are not satisfied with the doings of socialism call out for a reform, then for more reforms, and then for a reform of political institutions. Therefore this propaganda attack is what society is living with, what it is struggling with, and what it is discussing. And the same efforts are made to influence the church. It is said that the church hierarchy is at the service of socialism and the following appeal is made: "Young priests, revolt!" And a few priests may meet who think that it is indeed necessary to revolt. They believe that the peace movement is the best area to stage this revolt. Thus, Western propaganda is involving itself with all the things we are involved with here, but its aim is clear: "To do everything to stir up the masses, the leadership, and the party."

Next, Western propaganda strives to build a mutual lack of confidence between the socialist countries. Right now we are being praised, but this praise has a double meaning. If we compare what Western propaganda says about Hungary in Hungarian, Czech, Slovak, and Romanian, we will convince ourselves that the text is provocative. It says in Hungarian that the situation in other countries is not better because no attempt is made to imitate Hungary. In connection with Poland, it says that "you have to pay for this. Jaruzelski is in power, but the other socialist countries have to pay for this with their economy." We are quite busy in order to prevent the shaping of nationalist aims.

[Question] From my stay in Hungary, I have received the impression that dialogue between the party and the community is constantly being intensified in various ways.

[Answer] As early as November 1957, Comrade Kadar said in one of his speeches: "We are not occupying leadership posts to speak nice words, but to

"honestly and openly reveal the reality and indicate the way out to take."
This openness is our party's motto even under the most complicated conditions.
The party believes that only those questions which people do not ask us are delicate.

The subject of our concern is also the development paths of socialist democracy. I would like to stress here that we are monitoring your Polish experiences with great interest and attention. I believe that certain features of the laws on economic reform, the trade unions, and the activity of the Sejm could be applied to us.

CSO: 2600/1032

PARTY DAILY REPORTS TALKS WITH AFGHAN LEADERS

AU201245 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Jun 83 pp 6, 9

[Zygmunt Broniarek report: "Talking With Afghan Leaders"—passages between slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] /Within a single day, nay, within a single afternoon, I was able to talk with Babrak Karmal, secretary general of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and head of the Revolutionary Council, and with Soltan Ali Keshtmand, Politburo member and prime minister. I think that the fact that I was able to have this talk while I visited Kabul for the short period of a week was of political significance, because the two Afghan leaders told me a great deal about the importance they attach to Afghan-Polish relations.

/There are two reasons for this: Like Afghanistan, Poland has gone through an acute crisis, whose effects the two countries still continue to experience. Moreover, Afghanistan realizes that the two countries are exposed to especially sharp attacks launched by the West's extreme rightist forces. It is no accident that President Reagan proclaims "Afghan Days" and "Polish Days."/

While reporting on my talks with Afghan leaders I will stick to chronology and not to the protocol: I was received by Soltan Ali Keshtmand before I was received by Babrak Karmal. The first meeting took place in the small palace, which is used by the prime minister, which was built in the thirties in the traditional ornamental style, and whose furniture is a little antiquated. Screens are its characteristic feature. "We have screens here like those in India," my interpreter, who had been together with the prime minister to attend the New Delhi "summit," told me with a smile.

Actually, I could have done without his services, even though he is so extremely good. Soltan Ali Keshtmand greeted me in English, and although he talked to me in modern Persian, he understood my questions perfectly well and would intervene from time to time, speaking in English. He is a little over 50 and answered my questions rapidly and resolutely.

"War Without Declaration"

He spoke primarily about the "war without declaration" which Afghanistan is waging against the counterrevolutionary forces enjoying support in Pakistan

and partially in Iran, but he also said: "We want our relations with Pakistan and Iran to be normal and we are making efforts toward this end. As you know, talks are now going on in Geneva between Afghanistan and Pakistan through the good offices of the UN Official Cordovez, although we would like to continue these talks without any intermediary. We hope that it will be possible to solve all Afghan-Pakistani differences by peaceful means, but this must not be the achievement of only one state. /The primary point is that the interference with our internal affairs be halted. We take the view that if Pakistan and Iran conduct themselves with reason, an accord will be possible, which would help achieve lasting peace in our area of the world."/

I asked him how he evaluated the Delhi "summit" from the Afghan point of view. "The 'summit,'" he replied, "has produced positive results. /Its general tendency, including speeches, proposals, and resolutions, was anti-imperialist and antimilitarist./ Reagan and all U.S. reactionaries wanted to make a great noise around Afghanistan. /They have failed./ As a nonaligned country, the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan enjoyed a high prestige at the conference and played an important role during it."

As for domestic matters, the Afghan prime minister stressed two issues. The first was the agreement with tribes, nationalities, and ethnic groups. "This agreement is faring well," he said. "Why? Because the revolution is taking place in the areas in which these people live. The achievements of the revolution are their own achievements. /It can be said without the slightest exaggeration that at present our tribes, nationalities, and ethnic groups are completely equal. Their leaders know this better and better, which is important because they have authority among their own peoples and their words count. Their moral strength is an important factor in bringing the tribes, nationalities, and ethnic groups closer to our revolution."/

The second issue the prime minister discussed was the efforts to promote Afghanistan's economic development. /"We want to develop and not only to rebuilt, which is important because of destruction,"/ Soltan Ali Keshtmand said. "Our priority task is to exploit the rich deposits of our raw materials and to develop farm production and transportation. We have drawn up comprehensive programs for industrial development."

I asked about the role of the state, cooperative, and private sectors of the economy. The prime minister said that the state stresses the development of the state sector as the driving power of the economy and added with emphasis: "The private sector has its own correct place in the national economy. It can be said that there is symbiosis between the state, cooperative, and private sectors. The state and cooperative sectors in our country are developing and gaining in strength, but this is not at the expense of the private sector. We allow the private sector to be very active and we encourage such activities. /What we are keeping our eye on is to ensure that these activities do not turn into a plunder of the national economy."/ ("National plundering"--he said in English.)

To Act in Good Time

From the prime minister's palace we went directly to the presidential palace, to a large hall on the first floor. The light was provided by heavy old chandeliers. My interpreter and I took our places at a long table.

Babrak Karmal entered the hall through a side door and gave me a cordial welcome. We spoke in English all the time, except when Babrak Karmal asked the interpreter for a word from time to time. He spoke slowly and deliberately and with a great force of conviction.

"How is it," I asked, "that your party is playing the leading role in the present complicated situation of Afghanistan?"

"As a leading force of the people," Babrak Karmal answered, "our party has succeeded in overthrowing feudal rule and in repulsing the direct intervention of imperialism. We have defended in our country the same values and have fought and continue to fight against the same enemy as you are doing in Poland. /It can be said in all sincerity that 99 percent of our people have accepted with warm hearts the April revolution of 1978 because it is a national, democratic, antifeudal, and anti-imperialist revolution. As you know, in the first phase of our revolution Amin (one of the leaders who embarked upon the road of adventurism-Zygmunt Broniarek) became a usurper, he usurped legal power, and used terrorist methods. His approach to people was more than brutal, it was barbarous.

/"In the second phase of the revolution the situation changed. A true Central Committee and Revolutionary Council were set up. Health forces were victorious. Our party united itself on the principle of revolutionary theory."/

"The most important issue," Babrak Karmal continued, "was to save our sovereignty and territorial integrity. /This is no exaggeration. Our country was threatened by fragmentation, yes, fragmentation because this is what the United States, Pakistan, and other counterrevolutionary forces had planned. Lenin taught that it is necessary to act in good time, and this is what the Soviet Union did when it came to assist our revolution. This assistance was given in line with the Afghan-Soviet treaty of December 1978 and in accordance with Article 51 of the UN Charter. The Soviet Union posted to Afghanistan military contingents to help paralyze the plot hatched by imperialism and reaction. This plot threatened the murder of many people and perhaps even a war in this part of the world."/

I asked Babrak Karmal, about the mechanism of the party's activities. "The most important issue," he answered, "was to restore the party's unity. This is a process of fundamental significance. The party was also behind the establishment of massive organizations of young people, women, writers, artists and journalists as well as of tribunal councils and councils of spiritual leaders. The National Patriotic Front was set up with participation of not only organizations, but also individual members and famous personalities. We continued to build the structures of these organizations step by step in the

"provinces as well. /We promoted propaganda in radio and television as well as in oral propaganda, which is of great importance in our country, to ensure that the truth about the revolution reaches all social segments and classes./

"The middle class, intellectuals, artisans, clergy, the national bourgeoisie, national industrialists, and representatives of various nationalities, tribes, and ethnic groups are also represented in the National Patriotic Front.

/"We sought to create a favorable social climate and we proclaimed a general amnesty, which made a great impact on the country. The upshot of this was that many leaders of the counterrevolutionary groups went over to our side together with their weapons./ I can tell you I was very moved when some 3 weeks ago 300 such leaders held a rally in Kabul. I spoke to them and later on I had very informal talks with them. It was extremely interesting to hear them talk about the specific reasons that had induced them to come over to our side. /The primary specific reasons for this were attempts to compel them to inflict cruelties on their own countrymen."/

Babrak Karmal said that ideological problems are the top problems of party work. "Experience shows," he said, "that crises appear when ideological work becomes weak. Our armed forces were weak before the second phase of the revolution began. The same was true of the militia and security services."

Party Unity

"Is party unity an irreversible fact now?" I asked. "At the third plenum in 1980 you spoke a great deal about this matter, but I do not see that it is now as acute as it was."

/"Party unity," Babrak Karmal said, "is a matter for all times to come and not for just a short time. This means ideological, political, and organizational unity and unity of strategy and tactics. We must promote unity all the time./ We had serious disruptions in the past, but the situation has now changed, and I can say that it is better than I thought it was. Of course, clashes are still occurring, but this is so in every party. However, we are optimists with regard to the affairs of the party and the state. /Our optimism is based on reality. We are 'scientific optimists' if I may say so./

"This 'scientific optimism,'" Babrak Karmal continued, "induces us to see the still existing dangers, precisely because it is based on reality. Counter-revolution is going on and so is the aggression over the radio. About 30 hours of programs in Afghanistan's two principal languages (Dari and Pashtu) are beamed around the clock. There are three radio stations in Pakistan beaming against us. The BBC and Deutsche Welle are very strong in Pakistan. Their favorite theme is the rumor that I have been murdered and that the party is an area of an antagonistic struggle. But as you can see I am alive and the party is gaining in strength.

Greetings for Poland

Babrak Karmal recalled that he had met Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski in Moscow twice: During Leonid Brezhnev's funeral and on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the USSR. "Thanks to an unusually bold move," he said, "your party and government smashed the imperialist plans for Poland. I know that a struggle is going on in your country to ensure that life is normal. It is an acute struggle, but I am deeply convinced that you will emerge victorious from it. I would like you to convey through your daily the Afghan people's heartfelt greetings for your people. The Afghan people are waging a similar struggle to the one you are waging."

CSO: 2600/1036

OPOLE PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Resolution on Local Organizations

Opole TRYBUNA POLSKA In Polish 6 May 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by Wodzimierz Kosinski: "From the Proceedings of the Executive Board of the Provincial Committee of PZPR"]

[Text] The functioning of regional centers for party work--implementation of the resolution of the KW [Provincial Committee] concerning local organs of state administration--the program of strengthening Polish-Soviet friendship.

Eleven regional centers for party work, appointed as local sections of the Provincial Committee of PZPR in January 1982, are active in the province of Opole. The activities of each regional center involve several lower level party institutions along the lines of traditional socioeconomic ties, the functioning of communications systems and regional structures of the various state organs. The main task of the regional centers for party work is helping party institutions and organizations to implement resolutions of the Central Committee and of the Provincial Committee as well as current tasks of the party. It is evident from the evaluation of the activity of ROPP [Regional Centers for Party Work], prepared by the Political-Organizational Section of the Provincial Committee of PZPR, that they have concentrated their attention on the problems of efficiency in the work of institutions and basic party organizations, on sociopolitical activation of party members, on perfecting organizational skills and political unity of the party in the region where it operates. In ideological and propaganda-agitational work, ROPPs have concentrated mainly on ensuring efficiency of the system of ideological training of party members and party activists working in organs of social self-government, as well as the flow of current political information and instruction and propaganda materials.

In the course of a lively and sometimes controversial discussion dealing chiefly with the place and role of the centers within party structure (among other things, misgivings were expressed concerning duplication of work, indifference towards statutory powers of the eligible party authorities

in the area and lack of support for eligible activists in their tasks), the activity of the regional centers for party work up until then was evaluated positively. Based on specific examples, the necessity of their further existence and the need to perfect their functioning within the organizational structure of the party were clearly demonstrated.

Last May, the Provincial Committee of PZPR adopted a resolution on increasing the effectiveness and strengthening positions of the local organs of state administration in the province of Opole. In compliance with provisions of the resolution, the governor of the province of Opole worked out a schedule of tasks aimed at improvement of the functioning of the administration. The Executive Board of the Provincial Committee, analyzing the implementation of the resolution mentioned above, determined that its implementation was running smoothly and in accordance with the adopted schedule. The Executive Board advised the basic party organizations in the civil service to strengthen their cooperation with party groups among councilmen, and obliged party institutions to cooperate more closely with POP in the civil service.

The Executive Board of the Provincial Committee of PZPR familiarized themselves with the main directions of the informational-propagandist initiatives designed to spread the idea of Polish-Soviet friendship and accepted an item with regard to settling complaints and intervening in the Provincial Committee and lower level party institutions during the first quarter of this year.

Provincial Audit Commission Plenum

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 7-8 May 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by: szat: "People Ask for Help"]

[Text] Last year, during the 9th plenum of the Central Committee, the Secretariat of the CC [Central Committee] compiled an "Instruction on solving problems contained in letters, requests, proposals and complaints directed to party institutions and organizations" and an "Instruction on the filing of proposals, the course of procedures and supervision and control over their implementation." Yesterday's Plenum of the Provincial Audit Commission of PZPR had as its object an evaluation of practical inculcation of the essence and provisions of these documents.

It is evident from the presented materials that people turn to the party with their problems more often than ever, asking for help in solving them, that they are sensitive to all anomalies of our life. More than 1000 complaints and intercessions (the largest number, namely 131, were addressed to the town/parish committee of PZPR in Krapkowice) were registered in the 42 lower level committees, 2 center committees and 29 factory committees that had been inspected. What were these complaints about? In the city, they

were about matters of housing, trade, workplace conditions and relations, whereas in the country they had to do with distribution of the means of agricultural production. Registration of complaints is also conducted at the Provincial Committee of PZPR in Opole. Before this April, 176 written complaints and intercessions as well as 160 oral ones were filed there. Most of these have to do with housing and community matters. The inspecting group did not record complaints and intercessions which had not been granted consideration. 61 cases were acknowledged as positively settled.

It turned out, during the mentioned inspections, that the problem is not treated with due seriousness everywhere. For example, at the center committee of PZPR in Kedzierzyna-Koziel, at Frotex Cotton Plants in Prudnik, at the Wolczyn Linoplyt as well as at the Parish Committee in Zdzeszowice even files for complaints were not established. In some committees, secretaries of OOP and basic party organizations were familiarized with the instruction of the CC too late, namely only in February, sometimes even in March. This is true, among others, of Jemielnica, Domaszewice, Lewin Brzeski, Renska Wies, Izbick and Byczyna as well as the State Farms Plant in Niemyslow.

Methods of keeping records of proposals made by the community as well as ways of implementing them were also analyzed. In the 75 inspected committees from a variety of rungs 2311 proposals were registered, of which 1060 were implemented by the date of the inspection. Most of them are in Nysa, at the Works' Committee of PZPR at the Polish State Railways [PKP] (212) and at the Industrial Equipment Works [ZUP] (163). Cases of unrealistic requests or such whose implementation is too long-term also occur. More than 100 proposals have been deemed to be such. There are also committees which have up until now not implemented even one proposal; in others, the two month reply deadline is not adhered to. This situation, as stressed in the discussion, must change, because dependable consideration and handling of proposals is an indispensable condition of the party's winning people's confidence.

In the Plenum of the Provincial Audit Commission also took part Zdzislaw Niedzielski, secretary of the Provincial Committee, as well as chairman of WKKP Tadeusz Gwozdziejewski.

Field Trip Secretariat Meeting

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 17 May 83 p 3

[Article by: Andrzej Mach: "Truths Written And Spoken. Field Trip Session Of Secretariat Of KW PZPR At OXO Construction Site"]

[Text] Technical products made of foil, floor tiles, facings, insulating materials, tires, cables, insecticides, perfume components: this is a mere fragment of the list of products which cannot be produced without "oxo" alcohol. This is said in a simplified form and could hurt a chemist's feelings, but going deeper into the secrets of production would only obscure the matter. At present we in Poland do not produce "oxo"

alcohol and there emerges the following alternative: either to deprive the economy of these products or to import the alcohol, which would require close to 80 million dollars a year. We cannot afford either the first or the second solution. There is a third way out, namely to get ourselves an installation of our own. This has already become reality, and an "oxo"-producing facility has been placed at the Kedzierzyna-Koziel Azoty Nitrogen Works, which I mention here by way of reminder.

The subject of the progress of work at the construction site and the perspectives of the construction have been recently discussed at the field-trip session of the Secretariat of the Provincial Committee of PZPR. It somehow spontaneously reshaped itself into the Construction Council, and probably it could not have happened otherwise. From the political and economic point of view, the enterprise is not a matter for discussion, and as it is not a matter of raising the range of the expenditure by generating interest among the highest representatives of the political and administrative authorities in the region, but rather of doing efficiently that which must be done and to meet the deadlines established long ago.

Members of the secretariat of KW were mediators of sorts between the investor and the general contractor. After all, first secretary of KW Eugeniusz Mroz pointed out at the outset that no one would offer chemical and construction specialists salvation in the form of advice, because this would be, in the among experts, rather naive. The provincial authorities, however, want to hear the truth about the construction. The truth stated plainly in the presence of those most involved in this investment. For written word presents this truth only in part. To put it mildly. My own assessment (how I long for it to be mistaken!) leads to the impression that a subtle diplomatic game is taking place between the investor and the contractor, a game full of hints, stalking, animosity and, to my mind most importantly, tossing of certain duties from one side to the other.

Both sides prepared well for this session of the secretariat. Several documents were produced. The investor presented his position, the general contractor his. As an extra, the investor also added some kind of a supplement. The materials were very controversial. According to the investor, the construction is in a critical stage and one notes serious delays which make it uncertain whether the final deadline of its completion can be met. This may entail financial restrictions in the form of penalties imposed by the National Bank of Poland [NBP], the breaking of the contract with the West German firm Zimmer and depriving our industry of the opportunity to use fully the chemical products made in Plock and Wroclawek. The general contractor answered to that that there are no reasons to worry and calculated, month by month, that the job would be done by 1 August 1985, for such is the deadline of completion of the task worth almost 5 billion zloty. In his rejoinder, the investor indicated that almost 40 percent of the time intended for the project had already passed, while it had advanced only by about 18 percent.

Numbers can be used to demonstrate great many things. Secretariat members, however, wanted to know what the real situation was, not what can be demonstrated by using statistics,--ergo: Is there a chance to salvage the construction of "oxo" or not?

The discussion was interesting, and both sides strengthened their arguments by opinions of their superiors and colleagues. The investor, viz. the Kedzierzyna-Koziel Azoty, availed themselves of the deputy minister of chemistry and light industry S. Bajur; the contractor, viz. the Opole Industrial Construction Enterprises No 1, used a platoon of subcontractors as well as the director of the department of specialized construction J. Wlodarczyk.

The director of Azoty, K. Chmielewski, accused the Opole Industrial Construction Enterprises No 1 that too few people had been directed to this construction and that the tempo observed here in any case did not guarantee that the deadline would be met. He supported his view by the information that only 746 days had remained until 1 August 1985, and if one wanted to salvage the construction, then the monthly output of the OPBP No 1 and other contractors, particularly the Zabrze Mostostal Enterprises for Steel Structures of Refrigeration and Industrial Equipment, had to be at least twice as large as it had been so far.

In his reply, chief engineer of OPBP No 1, J. Salanczyk showed that everything was going just fine, and the scope of the work adjusted for this year with all subcontractors guarantees the processing of 1.5 billion zlotys in 1983, which is the amount provided for in the plan. He did not foresee any problems for 1984 either, although at that time about 200 million zlotys would have to be processed each month, which amounts to about 4 million zlotys a day. Listening to these explanations, one could come to the conclusion that everything fits in--from the point of view of planning, anyway.

Directors of individual subcontracting enterprises did not contribute any particular reservations. A side remark: this was one of the very few meetings, at which I had the opportunity of being present, where no complaints were voiced against the Opole Instal Industrial Installations Enterprises. This firm, once a typical "whipping boy," now startles with its competence. Such are the opinions coming from everywhere.

When the chief representatives of the investor and the contractor had presented their explanations, outsiders could not understand anything any more. E. Mroz even asked: "How can this be? In the written documents there is no agreement, while on the basis of the oral explanations presented here one gets the impression that, apart from the fuss, everything is practically all right?"

Actually, this is quite puzzling. K. Chmielewski explained it as follows: "The contractors pledge meeting the deadlines and performing the work on time. They say so because, it is my feeling, they are convinced that they won't be able to secure all the materials which at this time are extraordinarily hard to get. Later they will declare: well yes, we would have

made it, but we didn't have this, that and some other stuff, and so it just wasn't possible. I am saying that for example we can allot foreign currency from our account for certain purchases. This must know out the argument of the lack of convertible currencies."

For indeed, the specter of dollars or marks hovered over the proceedings. These would be most urgently needed for four purposes. First, cables. A lot of them are needed this year, 106 kilometers. And, according to Elektromontaz, these were supposed to be available three months ago. Second, paint. The Plock Izokor is supposed to have 80,000 liters available this year; instead, it has 2000. Third, electrodes. The firm Metalzbyt which produces them is capable to supplying only 10 percent of the need. Fourth, special varieties of steel. Here the problem is the worst, and Mostostal estimates the disbursements of currencies to purchase materials unavailable in the country at 450,000 dollars.

These are the problems behind which, according to the investor, the contractors want to hide. These latter reply to this that nothing of the kind, that they believe that these purchases can be made. Optimistic was Deputy Minister S. Bajur who anticipated that "oxo" construction to be included in a special system of preference. Department director J. Wlodarczyk, veteran of the constructions of Zdzeszowice and the Huta Katowice regards this change a little more skeptically and for the time being requests only that chemical and construction departments try to procure for the contractors that which they must have immediately, without delay. Without the above mentioned supplies, the consequences of being 6 months late at this point not only will not be nullified but actually deepened. A. Wojtowicz, chief of the OPBP No 1, relied on this dictum to discourage the practice of talking in terms of delays and outputs reckoned in cash and instead to pay attention only to the realm of facts and to calculate the investment only on that basis.

At the end of the proceedings of the secretariat of the Provincial Committee defined a position, consisting of a set of the most important measures capable of leading to the conclusion of the project in time. This is a list of seven items; an eighth item is included as an alternative, as it depends on whether the "oxo" project receives the preferable status forecast by the deputy minister. This document clearly specifies who does what and when. The role of the secretariat of the Provincial Committee, as the first secretary of the KW explained in the end, would be assistance such as follows from the distribution of duties in the country. Responsible for the project are first and foremost the chemical and construction departments with their subordinate investor's and contracting services.

Secretariat members heard the truth (such is my hope). Both sides present reasonable positions. What is important now is that both brought profit in the same direction. [Text illegible]

Executive Board on Farm Activities

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 20 May 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by Włodzimierz Kosinski: "From the Proceedings of the Executive Board of the Provincial Committee of PZPR]

[Text] Socioprofessional and economic activities of agricultural circles. Arbitration against anomalies of economic life. Implementation of the resolution of the 10th Plenum of the Central Committee [CC] of PZPR.

The Executive Board of the Provincial Committee of PZPR, in the course of yesterday's proceedings, evaluated social, professional and economic activities of the organization of agricultural circles during the year 1982. It was stated that services for farmers had improved. Improved also the quality and promptness of services. Care of agricultural equipment grew, and profitable economic results were achieved. In addition to the services-related activities, agricultural circles in the province of Opole widened the scope of their economic activity by increasing production of sought-after agricultural machines and spare parts. Checks conducted by regional operative groups of the Polish Army revealed only a few instances of poor management. These concerned Agricultural Circles' Cooperatives [SKR] in Strzelcy Opolskie, Dobrzeń Wielki, Strzeleczki, Kietrz and Komprachcice.

Agricultural circles, as representatives of the interests of individual farmers, increasingly use their statutory powers in their socioprofessional activities. Currently agricultural circles participate in decisionmaking on the distribution of machines and agricultural equipment, fertilizers, selling and leasing lands of the State Land Fund [PFZ].

The Executive Board of the Provincial Committee noted the need to resolve the many still existing shortcomings and deficiencies. As a result of the introduced economic reform, some Agricultural Circles' Cooperatives [SKRy] decreased the range of services considered less profitable. The lack of equipment, particularly for mowing grass and pressing straw, results in incomplete satisfaction of the need for services of this type. Introduction of new agricultural services such as the drying of grass and green forage also deserves consideration. The number of items and the scope of the use of agricultural equipment must be expanded. The problem which has not been solved in our province fully is the matter of filling the need for the liming of fields with oxygenic lime. Agricultural circles must provide more care than before for the small farms of two-job farmers. Party institutions as well as members of the party in agricultural circles must initiate enterprises aiming to increase the socioprofessional activity of agricultural circles and to counteract instances of breaking the foundations of just distribution of agricultural machines and equipment.

As the next item in the proceedings, the Executive Board of the KW of PZPR, on the basis of the information presented by the District Arbitration Commission in Opole, considered the problem of anomalies in the activities of units of collectivized economy in the Opole province, stated as a result of an analysis of disputes acknowledged by the State Economic Arbitrage. The District Arbitration Commission in Opole acknowledges around 3000 disputes per year, in which take part units situated on the territory of our province. The topics of these disputes are varied and include almost all manifestations of the economic life of the land. The following themes, however, predominate: disputes over investments, delivery of goods and freightage. It is in these disputes that instances of mismanagement, waste and the lack of due care for interests of the national economy are found most often. Not only the disputes coming into the District Arbitration Commission [OKA] provides evidence of anomalies in the activities of the units of collectivized economy. One can make conclusions concerning these anomalies also on the basis of the lack of disputes over certain areas of economic cooperation (such as research and training).

The Executive Board of the Provincial Committee positively appraised the activities of a majority of party organizations and institutions in the domain of implementations of the Resolution of the 10th Plenum of the Central Committee ("On Crucial Problems of the Socioeconomic Development of the Land"). Activities of party organizations in the domain of the work of trade groups for cost and price affairs. The Executive Board of KW emphasized the necessity of subsequent implementation of the urgent tasks following from the Resolution of the 10th CC Plenum within the framework of the activities undertaken in accordance with the provincial schedule of antiinflational and economizing measures.

12391

CSO: 2600/948

PROVINCIAL AKTIV ACTIVITIES NOTED

Appeal for National Aktiv Meetings

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 5 Apr 83 pp 1, 2

/Article by PAP: "With a Sense of Responsibility for the Country's Fate. Support for the Appeal of Workers' Aktiv National Meeting"/

/Text/ On the eve of the /Easter/ holidays, the press carries an appeal from the participants of workers' aktiv national meeting to society at large.

According to the appeal: "The governments' programs ought to become the only guidepost for all Polish men and women to lead the country out economic crisis." Even the initial comments taken down by PAP journalists indicate that the appeal met with lively interest and support among plant workforces.

Marek Szaniawski, assembler, department IV, Paris Commune Shipyards in Gdynia:

The initiative for the appeal originated in Katowice Province, a leader in industrial development. I believe that it is a product of good, solid work, a steady characteristic of miners and metalworkers, although shipbuilding industry of which I am a representative, also has something to show in this regard. I believe that the meeting would provide a great opportunity for an exchange of experiences, views and initiatives taken by the working class in various regions in an attempt to overcome the crisis by joint effort as rapidly as possible. A good example in question is our output this year which will enable the shipyard to export five prototype vessels with four times the tonnage achieved last year.

Krzysztof Pawlak, first secretary of PZPR plant committee at Fonica Radio Plants in Lodz:

The appeal to all working people is an expression of the participants' sense of responsibility for the fate of the reform, the economy and the country. The government savings program is at this time the only available avenue to balance our inadequate resources and halt the decline in the standard of living of the working class. I believe that the appeal is our response to the difficulties of the present period. Our support for the substance of the appeal, if given at every workplace, can bring to fruition the hopes linked with the appeal.

Wojciech Kosiecki, mechanical technician, Urban Residential Buildings Management, Swietochlowice:

It is common knowledge that efficiency and good management are always needed. The appeal is, in my opinion, an extraordinary and dramatic call. Implementation of the governmental programs and, no less important, broad consideration given the motions and proposals offered at this working people's forum will be decisive for the future of the country and the future of its citizens. Honest efforts should be made at every workplace. This refers to every person, including those who make the daily decisions affecting the operation of our economy.

Aktiv Support for National Economizing

Poznan GLOS WIELKOPOLSKI in Polish 6 Apr 83 p 1

/Article by (dm): "Follow-Up on the Workers' Aktiv National Meeting. Topics for Consideration Passed on to Workforces"/

/Text/ Participants in the workers' aktiv national meeting on economizing and anti-inflation measures, held in Warsaw last week, are now sharing the atmosphere and the principal problems of that meeting in sessions with workforces.

At an open party session in rubber industry's Stomil Metal Plant at Sroda, Ryszard Trawinski and Tadeusz Kaleta recounted the agenda of the Warsaw meeting. They also recaptured for their audience the atmosphere of the meeting and the substance of conversations with representatives of different ministries, including prices, excess growth of administration, and economizing programs. As part of the economy measures at the Stomil plant in Sroda, the number of administrative employees was reduced by nearly 10 percent in the course of a year. Waste in production brass unfit for machining was reduced as well.

Andrzej Michalak, a participant in the national meeting, took part in a meeting for secretaries of division party units and department managers at the Poznan Auto Tire Plant Stomil. The meeting was devoted to problems raised at the national session and a discussion of further economy measures at the plant. It was resolved that this topic ought to be presented in detail in the plant's production departments, in conversations scheduled to begin this week.

Similar matters were discussed by Mieczyslaw Cyranek at an open party meeting in Wielkopolska Furniture Factory at Oborniki. He said that the development of costs and prices and methods for their reduction were the most popular issues at the Warsaw meeting. Taxes in the furniture industry were also debated, tax on luxury items regarded as controversial. A team for developing the plant's plan for economy measures in consultation with the workforce was appointed in the Oborniki factory.

A meeting for secretaries of basic party organizations at PZPR City Committee headquarters in Gniezno was attended by participants in the Warsaw meeting employed by Gniezno's major plants: Kazimierz Kowalski, Kazimierz Paluszak, Janina Funke, Mirosław Wilkosz, Jerzy Gromadzinski, Ignacy Malerowicz, and Lucja Konieczna. They commented on the Warsaw meeting in its organizational

aspect as well, regretting that time limitations had not allowed opportunities to speak to all those who had the ambition to represent their communities in public but had to settle for the inclusion of their comments in the minutes. These participants will soon appear at plant meetings to discuss the anti-inflation and economics program.

Aktiv Support of Disposing Crises

Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 7 Apr 83 p 3

/Article by Stanislaw Fatajska, Industrial Textiles Plant, Zyrardow: "Uniformly Distribute the Burden of Crisis"/

/Text/ I work in Zyrardow Industrial Textiles Plant. We are a major manufacturer of bonded fabric and conveyor fabric for conveyor belts in hard-coal mining. We work in three shifts. The workforce is for the most part female. We completed the past year's plan successfully, with a major increase in labor productivity. Although employment decreased more than 25 percent due to early retirement, our plan for the past year was fulfilled in the 1981 volume, nearly 9.5 million square meters of industrial textiles. Output in conveyor fabric, three times as labor-intensive as other industrial textiles, increased by 300,000 square meters.

Because of continued shortages of raw materials, work on economizing measures has been going on in our plant since 1982. We are supplied for 50 percent by Gorzow Wielkopolski, and the other half comes from imports. Work on regenerating the textiles and bonded fabric is about to be completed, resulting in more than 100 tons raw material imports, hence our actions to increase the volume of textiles and bonded fabric by economizing on raw materials. This will be mutually beneficial to us and to our customers.

Along with the introduction of economic reform, organizational and technical changes are made in our plant. On the one hand, they increase labor productivity, on the other, they improve our economic results. An emoluments system previously effective in our plant failed to operate in its motivational role because it included too many components of emoluments and distorted the ranking of jobs, lacking a close correlation between emoluments and substantive results of the work of an employee. Bonuses were too high as well.

Modifications in the emoluments system were carried out concurrently with changes in our enterprise's organization of operation. These measures were intended to raise labor productivity and production volume, as well as reducing the effects of underemployment in the direct production group of employees.

Basic principles of the new emoluments system introduced in 1982, assumed the determination of job rankings for the entire plant, instituting a three-level classification schedule for employees paid by the month, new regulations for awarding bonuses relating their levels to quality and quantity of work performed, and savings in raw and intermediate materials. Concurrently, there are provisions for increases in wages along with reduction of employment in each organizational unit. The system also creates incentives to work on what are legally nonworking

days in response to the appeal of the Central Committee's 10th Plenum which instituted more advantageous principles for emoluments than those contained in the Labor Code. A motivational bonus equivalent to 10 percent of basic wage was introduced, to be applicable in exceptional cases, e.g. for work performed in a differently ranked job in emergencies or when substituting. Also, a system of awards for outstanding individual achievement, to be disbursed from profits realized and retained by the enterprise was established.

Striving to simplify the emoluments system and to magnify the role of the basic wage, special extras on basic pay were incorporated in the emoluments system, quality bonuses, earlier paid to employees involved in direct piecework at final stages of completing finished products (e.g., warping and twisting machine operators in the weaving department), were eliminated and bonus ceilings were lowered for both hourly- and monthly-paid employees.

Due to the introduction of the piecework system, directly relating emoluments levels to quantity of work, favorable conditions were created for setting up correct employment ratios and improvement of professional skills. Owing to the measures being instituted, as compared with the 1981 figures, there was an 18.1 percent increase in labor productivity and a 14.5 percent increase in wages in 1982. Moreover, it is worth noting that the 1983 potential for achieving labor productivity increases was, in part, the result of allocation of a substantial, 75 percent portion of the profits to the plant's development fund, which provided for continued modernization in the conveyor fabric weaving department. The purchase of new advanced Malimo belt lacers has provided possibilities for production increases thanks to labor productivity improvement in the enterprise.

Along with the entire Zyradow community, our workforce is deeply concerned over a number of issues connected with our country's crisis. We keep asking why only the socialized economy is supposed to bear the entire cost of the crisis, why no conditions have been created to distribute its burden uniformly on all segments of society. The working class has made a main contribution to the overcoming of the crisis. In a number of professions classified as primary in our enterprise, top limits of labor productivity have already been reached. Our wages are very closely correlated with labor productivity. The enterprise channeled 29 percent of its realized profit to the state treasury as tax, 8 percent remaining for the enterprise, including 6 percent for its development and only 2 percent for the workforce.

We are certainly not being given special favors at this critical time. When listening to the radio or watching television, we become upset over reports about wage disbursements in certain labor cooperatives and farm cooperatives.

The draft anti-inflation program presented recently in open party meetings provoked major interest, along with much anxiety and contradictory claims. We react to it with great apprehension. We wish that the principle of "tight money" applied to all economic sectors in due proportion. Our lives continue to be difficult, so we welcome any improvement, e.g. lifting state control on certain items and better food supply.

Warsaw Aktiv Meeting for Productivity

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 6 Apr 83 p 1

[Article by (tab): "A Session for Warsaw Meeting Participants. Productive Effort and Labor of All Poles Will Decide"]

[Text] Sessions for plant workforces and basic party organizations, attended by participants in the Workers' Aktiv National Meeting, continue to be held in all social communities.

Through debate, answers are being sought to the question how to prevent a further decline in society's standard of living and how to increase output to the domestic market and for export in a critical economic situation.

In general, it can be asserted that there is overall consensus on effective labor and collective creative effort of all Poles, crucial for the success of the adopted decisions.

These issues were discussed yesterday at a POP secretaries' meeting held on the premises of the PZPR City Committee in Gniezno.

After intraparty concerns were discussed, Ireneusz Wapner, worker and union activist from H. Cegielski plant took the floor. He commented on the Warsaw meeting and expressed an opinion, supported by all those present including seven Gniezno area participants in the national meeting, that each person, at his own work station, should perform his duties in an exemplary manner.

A similar session was held in the Stomil Rubber Industry Plant in Sroda Wielkopolska, attended by representatives of economic aktiv from the area. Among the speakers were participants in the national meeting, Ryszard Trawinski, electrician from Stomil and Tadeusz Kaleta, operator from a sugar refinery. They said that the national meeting in the capital held major interest of the nation. If everyone regards his work station as his very own, they said, results will soon be visible.

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PROVINCIAL BLUE-COLLAR PRODUCTIVITY CHARACTERISTICS NOTED

Blue-Collar Productivity Evaluated

Krakow ECHO KRAKOWA in Polish 17 May 83 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Wiktor Boniecki by Jan Frenkel: "On the Productivity of Work," time and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] Economic analyses of work productivity measured per capita shows that in Poland it amounts to just one-fifth the productivity of workers in the highly-industrialized nations. In addition, comparisons with some of the other socialist countries puts us in a bad light. Why is this? Are just our obsolete technology, poor organization of work and inappropriate system of finances which discourages greater effort at fault? What directions should we take to prevent our falling into a still worse position in this world rivalry?

[Answer] Let's talk about the present day and the immediate future. In three countries of the northern hemisphere, the USSR, U.S.A. and Japan, there is a sharp race to win the greatest economical productivity. We already know one thing: robots are leading the race. The name "robot" was taken from a play by Karel Capek titled "R.U.R." [Rational Universal Robots]. In ever newer branches of industry, robots are man. This is taking place beginning with the aerospace industry through the automotive and electronic industries and the newest production branches, robots themselves. They are able to work at very high and low temperatures, in vacuums, in radioactive environments, etc. Programmed, they work automatically, excelling humans in productivity and accuracy in producing finished products. They have no social or political problems. They do not belong to labor unions or political parties.

[Question] Progress being made in electronics, for example the recent discovery of microprocessors, has brought about a subsequent revolution in technology similar to the one which followed the discovery of the steam engine. Thus, this has brought about more limited employment in the industries of highly-developed nations. At the same time, this superautomation

affects not only the capital growth of production but also the fundamental improvement of production quality...

[Answer] Robot labor is 3-5 times cheaper than human labor and in leading industries, man has thus begun to be forced out of material production. In production plants, automatization will not be ruling, but automation (in other words, robots controlled by robots programmed in turn by other robots will carry out the entire production process from start to finish without direct human participation. This in turn will mean that robots will also take over office work such as statistics and accounting and people will be unnecessary in offices). What's more, intensive work is being done on the robotization of agriculture as well. This can be done all the easier since in the U.S.A., for example, a small percent of the whole work force is employed in industry and agriculture. As a result of robot use, an enormous growth in production is taking place and this assures formation of reserves of industrial articles and food which is already becoming a great political problem internationally. These reserves create the possibility for blackmail. Not only is the struggle for the international market intensifying, but the position of developing countries is deteriorating.

[Question] What chance do nations have which are not in a position to use the newest technologies as they cannot afford them?

[Answer] The whole system of introducing robotics is in principle impossible for poor nations because they do not have complex developed modern industry, introduced advanced equipment and technology, no basis of elementary research, nor any culture for producing highly-qualified workers. The low cost of labor in these countries is a barrier to developing the productivity of work because it is easier for the plant director to hire hundreds of workers than to buy new imported machinery with dollars that cannot be gotten.

[Question] Will such advanced automation bring human happiness? What will become of people, their work potential and personal satisfaction?

[Answer] The role of technology is not to bring us happiness. Long ago, technology eliminated heavy labor. Today, it has generally deprived man of work. People will be working in areas that are not related to production but are socially necessary such as all sorts of education, medicine and production of spiritual values. For this reason, in nations where robotics is doing the work, these other areas of human endeavor must be developed and more and more people must find employment in them. Their underdevelopment would become another danger to the existence of the modern states. Later, there will appear a new division of the world into modern nations in which robotics is being developed and the rest in which the low cost of human labor will in the near future become too expensive in comparison to production costs of modern plants equipped with robots.

Basic Polish Workers Characteristics

Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 9-10 Apr 83 p 4

[Article by Janusz Rajkiewicz: "Reflections on the People and Rebirth: First Questions"]

[Text] Contemplating what has happened in our country in the last few years, we try to find convincing explanations of the causes and circumstances of our crisis. At the basis of these explanations we create an image of what awaits us and what we should do in the existing situation.

Our view of ourselves as a nation plays a definite and large role in our thinking on just this subject.

If we think that we as a nation are indeed attached to freedom but are anarchic, are able to put out extraordinary efforts but work poorly in normal circumstances, have good intentions but are gullible and give in to contrived (or altogether false) political slogans, if we are after all emotional, unrealistic, even romantic, then all of this easily brings us to the conclusion that our present misfortunes are, to no small extent, the result of faults in our national character and that, without having removed these faults, we should not expect any considerable change in our fortunes. Because deeper changes of national character, in as much as they are possible take place very slowly, we should not expect in the near future any fundamental improvement in our situation.

Such an interpretation must influence our opinion of recent history and of what is responsible for the crisis. The responsibility of particular persons or groups must be, by the same token, very limited as the exercise of a authority in a society with such traits cannot be an easy matter. It is thus hard to expect for us to quickly and without problems catch up with other nations that are living better than we. We must also consider the fact that our leaders are children of the same nation and to some extent they are subject to the same shortcomings as ourselves.

There is, however, another way of looking at the situation if we recognize the fact that the nation is characterized by a high degree of maturity and responsibility. The proof of this is the fact that it has not given itself in to acts of violence despite many opportunities to do so. Poles are marked by a romantic faith in ideals even though so many obstacles stand in the way to their realization, Poles are creative and industrious which has been proved wherever there have been conditions for well-organized and valuable work. Our nation loves freedom and truth and values it more than its own material well-being because it preferred the freedom of having independent organizations to its own economic needs. Poles are able to efficiently and quickly organize group activity which was confirmed by the diverse activities taken up in the period after August 1980.

With this conception of our national character, we must look outside of ourselves for the causes of our problems.

Both of these images of the Polish character have been presented in an extremely schematic and one-sided manner. With careful consideration, we recognize that along with positive persons there also exist negative ones and the actual differences of opinion between persons analyzing the national traits of Poles concern the proportion of negative characteristics to positive ones.

Before any serious attention is given to solving this kind of argument, a more basic question emerges: In explaining the fortunes of the nation, how fundamental is it to refer to its collective psychological traits? One can even generally ask whether talk about collective psychological traits has any sense at all.

It must be admitted that it's hard to see the problem clearly. The idea that nations have certain distinguishing psychological traits seems hard to support. When one looks at the life styles of Poles, Germans, Russians or the French, something of this sort is plainly discernible which makes members of a given nation similar to one another and different from all others. Of course, this does not include all members of a nation and for that reason it is said that the idea of national character represents a modal personality, thus, a certain personality most frequently occurring in a given nation.

At this point, a problem arises. If we talk about the Polish national character, do we mean the older or younger generation of Poles? Do we mean the Warsaw intelligentsia or the Carpathian peasant, Silesian miner or State Farm worker, bureaucrat from Great Poland or Bialystok farmer? Do we maybe expect to find certain shared, repeating characteristics within all of this diversity?

It is already obvious at first glance that, in these and still other social groups that can be distinguished in our country, it will not be easy to find despite the differences any similarities of enough importance to have an effect, positive or negative, on the people as a whole.

If, however, such a psychological similarity does exist, then it would have to be found in some sort of "common area". Such a "common area" is above all that which goes into the national culture based on a common language and tradition. A culture contains values, images, ideals and also general principles by which its social life must be conducted. It is in these attributes that the unique determinant of Polish thinking and behavior can be found.

There are also other areas of similarity between members of the same nationality which are the result of the nation's achieved degree of social and economic development. Lifestyles imposed by modern industrial civilization are different from those characteristic of urban or small town

communities as these, may as a whole come into contact with problems originating in the demands of a newly-forming civilization. It's very clear that various social factions may be found on unequal levels of experience with modern life. By the same token, their way and thinking and behavior will be different. It is easy to illustrate these differences by comparing Great Poland with some of the eastern provinces. We must, however, emphasize that this not a matter of economical differences that persently exist, but of differences in experience with modern economic development over a period of several generations. These are the differences that are felt in the collective psychology.

It should thus be recognized that due to both cultural tradition and the achieved level of social and civilizational development, one can expect to find a certain psychological similarity in a given nationality. This is referred to by some authors as the "national mentality." The similarity of mentality is all the more marked and significant, the greater the cultural and civilizational homogeniety of its various factions.

If we agree with such a concept, then more questions immediately emerge: How are we, as Poles, similar to one another (and what characterizes us)? What will this similarity bring our present and future fortunes?

Productivity Characteristics of Polish Workers

Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 23-24 Apr 83 p 4

[Article by Janusz Reykowski: "Are Poles Able To Work Well?"]

[Text] The following article is another in a series in which the famous professor is addressing issues before the approaching PRON Congress. The next articles will be published by us in Sunday editions of GLOS ROBOTNICZY.

Let's take a characteristic of Poles which is considered to have had a large role in the shaping of our present situation--their attitude to work and responsibilities. It is said that the feeling of responsibility and wholehearted performance of work has not been propagated widely enough among citizens of our nation. The level of technical culture is rather low and producers carelessly treat the demands of technological processes. Working people in many jobs, whether in the workshop, office, in the execution of work or the direction of work, do not apply themselves enough to perform their jobs conscientiously. In this regard, Polish workers differ markedly from workers in many other nations not far from Poland.

An explanation of this phenomenon could be the lack of an industrial tradition in Poland. It has only been since the end of World War Two that there has been an accelerated economic development of the country. Thus, at a large majority of jobs, there are people that grew up in social and cultural conditions demanding other attitudes and behavior than those required by a modern industrial state. Could it not be a significant fact that persons employed in production by "Mercedes" work in a plant which has been doing the

same sort of production for almost 100 years while persons producing the Polish Fiat have been doing so for only 14 years?

One can, however, find arguments opposed to the view that Poles are not distinguished by an exceedingly positive attitude toward work. There are so many cases in which Polish crews have achieved excellent results on foreign construction sites. It has been pointed out so many times that results completely meeting European standards have been achieved in some branches or industrial plants. Are these instances not proofs of the fact that the reasons for poor quality should be found somewhere else entirely rather than in the national traits of Poles?

This matter is thus more complicated than it seems on the surface. Above all, observations on Poles at work abroad are not so conclusive in forming an opinion of their work and industriousness. It is not so odd, however, that there are, within such a large collection of people, groups that are capable of solid and efficient work and that the most energetic persons, most capable of adapting to new situations, are found abroad.

What is more important is the fact that not only personal traits, but those of the entire work situation, have a crucial influence on how a person works. For the good of the work, it is necessary to create an environment which promotes work. It can be said that in Poland we have not been able to create such an environment on a large scale.

How can this be explained?

We cannot but wonder whether a role in our failures to create such environments has been played by traditions and values that have prevailed in our society. A Japanese social psychologist who has visited our country several times and has spent much time in Poland was interested in our culture and the psychology of our society. He was struck by such things as the difference in the amount of importance that Poles and Japanese place on economic values, their creation and accomplishment. He was of the opinion that the importance placed on these values was incomparably lower than in Japan. The Poles, as he saw it, place unproportionately greater importance on symbolic effects. Poles think significantly less than the Japanese do about how to maximally use available means and possibilities in material production.

Maybe there is nothing surprising about this. It is possible that the Japanese, living in an overpopulated country without the best natural conditions, would not have maintained their existence without having developed to perfection their ability to make use of what they have. On the other hand, the number one problem for Poles has for a long time been not a matter of "struggling with nature" for biological existence but rather the struggle with the pressure of other cultures (not only the pressure of moral influences, but also administrative pressure and the use of force). Considering the influence exerted on the formation of values by such factors as danger, it may seem entirely natural that such a value as "the preservation of Polishness" would come out more strongly in Polish thinking than "efficient

work." In this regard, we differ not only from the Japanese. Jozef Kozielecki, in his notes on Sweden ("Happiness in Swedish"), pointed out that the enormous part of the Swedish mentality is taken up by the fact that they have had to struggle with an especially hostile natural environment and have learned to struggle for their existence by well organized collective action. This circumstance has certainly created an entirely different set of values than that found among Poles.

It is not only in the realm of specific national traditions that we must search for the causes of our difficulty in creating an environment which fosters good work. According to our earlier assumptions, there are other causes that would have to be examined in the current stage of development of our national mentality. Our mentality seems to have certain properties characteristic of a phase which (not too accurately) could be expressed as "the mentality of a relatively recent stage of industrialization." At this stage, industrial civilization is regarded above all from a point of view of its external, most visible and most attractive features. In less advanced societies, this is a concentration on finished products, a fascination with the consumer accomplishments of the civilization such as automobiles, transistors, television, etc. Thus, in some developing African nations, for example, these products are actually regarded as the attributes of modernity. In more advanced societies and those that regard themselves as such, emphasis is put on another, although equally superficial, attribute of modernity: the gigantic industrial complex. It appears that in the thinking of many persons, both the average members of society and those persons occupying more or less important positions in the society, progress and modernity are understood as largescale constructions and the more there are of them, the greater the progress on the road to universal happiness.

The fascination of such a vision of progress has been shown both in practical activity and in the created symbology but also, to a certain extent, in the realm of culture.

In the fascination with superficiality, it is much less perceived and more poorly understood that it is more important, although less impressive as a sign of progress, to set up efficient organizations that function quickly, effectively and are capable of dealing with a wide range of matters, making quick decisions and implementing them, and correcting their own errors. Thus, the key to a modern society seems to be not in what strikes the eye, not in gigantic industrial complexes, but in social forms of organization capable of using both the giant complexes and the smallest production shops.

Polish Workers National Spirit

Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 7 May 83 p 4

[Article by Janusz Reykowske: "Program for Sprits"]

[Text] The analysis presented in previous articles was supposed to point out that the matter of "national traits" cannot be correctly understood by either simple

recognition or its existence or by questioning it. We thus have to consider the fact that at any given historical moment, a particular nation living in a community is characterized by certain shared values and attitudes (despite the existence many differences between subgroups within the society). These attitudes and values which were once regarded as "traits of national character" are falsely interpreted as the actual "nature" of the people.

This sort of thinking seems to be caused by using improper analogies, using the same standards of thinking in evaluating human attributes that are used in analyzing the properties of physical objects. Thus, in comparing physical substances, we say that the specific gravity of lead is greater than that of iron, that of iron greater than that of aluminum, and so on regardless of the conditions. It is the same when we speak about creativity or the temperature of melting. We are talking about the nature of given substances which remains unchanged regardless of conditions. For this reason, one may always arrange substances equally with regard to a given property.

However, the same does not apply in the characterization of human behavior. This cannot be done, first of all, because human behavior is the result of the total effect of inner possibilities and conditions under which man's activities are undertaken.

It is said that a worker is "lazy", referring to laziness as a trait peculiar to this individual in the same way that a particular temperature of solidification may be peculiar to a given substance. This may not, however, be taken as a rule: a person is lazy in the performance of a particular type of work, under a particular type of direction or within a certain social context (within a given group). In other work, under different direction or in another group, this same person may turn out to be "industrious". We can consider a person undisciplined, which means that he does not observe the requirements of discipline "as stipulated," but this does not mean that lack of discipline is a feature of his "nature" in the same way that a low boiling point is a property of the "nature" of nitrogen. This "lack of discipline" concerns, as a rule, a particular category of demands, a specific way of meeting those demands, formulation, justification, etc.

Thus, to put it simply, it is not possible to speak of human characteristics in the abstract, without reference to conditions. If we say anything about the traits of contemporary Poles, those of the workers at a certain plant, the traits of youth, or the students at a given school, we must always include the characteristics of the circumstances in which the subject acts. The matter should be formulated in this way: under certain conditions, the groups of people we are observing showed certain behaviors and traits.

Another reason that human characteristics cannot be dealt with in the same way as the properties of physical objects is human susceptibility to change. Human psychological properties are the result of their social and culturally-bequeathed experiences. The accumulation of experiences brings about a

gradual change of attitudes and values. A set of human attitudes observed at any given moment carries the mark of past experiences. All past experiences in individual and group fortunes has its influence on people today while what is happening now will shape people in the future.

It is not, however, possible to draw from this the conclusion that human behavior is decided by conditions and that by thus controlling social life, it is possible to arbitrarily develop any type of attitudes and behavior. This is because human behavior is decided by conditions as well as the mentality of the people, rather than any one of these factors. It would therefore be a harmful and dangerous lack of realism to think that the human psyche is a soft material like wax, susceptible to any action. On the contrary, one must take account of the fact that the collective mentality at a given historical moment is a political fact of great importance. This mentality will effect to some degree the changes that a political force is trying to introduce to society. Those changes are accepted or opposed and they may also be rejected regardless of their meaning.

A dramatic example of rejection of changes understood as being contrary to the national mentality is the events in Iran, a country which a few years ago boasted that it was at a fast march into modernity and did have an impressive degree of modernization. The entire policy of modernization, however, collapsed because it turned out to be contrary to the attitudes and recognized values of most of Iran's people.

One must consider the fact that attitudes and values recognized by the people also determine where they will let themselves be led and form a range of possibilities in which may originate various concrete forms of social and political life. The existing political forces then have a chance to actualize these possibilities in a different way, as a result of which there may be "evoked" various ways of existence and directions for action. Fascism was an example of evoking a specific way of existence from a German people finding itself in a sharp crisis. In another historical moment with other experiences, social democracy in West Germany acquired completely different aspects of the "German soul" and still other effects were induced by the policy of the SED in the German Democratic Republic.

The German example cited here refers to a certain problem which, in the analysis of national traits, should not be disregarded. There are conditions which evoke from a given group attitudes that are dangerous for that group or for other groups around it. It would not be at all pertinent to assume that whatever has remained a written cultural tradition and has acquired the form of attitudes and convictions within that society is good for the existence of that society or, from a universal point of view of human morality, noble.

What concerns us here is what the famous humanist, Professor A. Gregorczyk, has asked: isn't it sometimes a matter of the fact that the situation, in which Poland has found itself in the past several months, has aroused in people very strong, perhaps too strong, feelings of worth (A. Gregorczyk, "Everyone Wants To Be Free and Independent," POLITYKA, 1982, no. 23)? The

author tried to point out the sort of dangers to the political and spiritual existence of the nation that may be brought about by haphazard cultivation of such attitudes. Indeed, his view encountered violent opposition, however, this opposition was more of a desire to discredit an opponent daring to question such a great value than a sober analysis of the problems, which is what Gregorczyk was proposing.

It is possible to produce different ways of thinking and action from the same system of values. What produces them is, on one hand, the objective existential conditions of a given group of people and, on the other hand, the conscious activity of organized political forces addressing their program to various aspects of those values, figuratively to "the spirit of the nation." Programs that are closer to what at the given historical moment is strongest and most prominent in this "spirit" have the greatest chance of gaining followers.

Workers Psychosocial Epidemic

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 6 May 83 p 3

[Article by Wlodzimierz Szewczuk "I Think That..."]

[Text] Professor Wlodzimierz Szewczuk was born in Jaslo in 1913. He finished his studies in philosophy and psychology at Jagiellonian University in Krakow in 1936. In 1946, he organized the Central Institute of Practical Psychology of the Metallurgical Industry in Katowice, which he directed until 1951. Since 1954, he has been director of the Institute of Experimental Psychology, later the Department of Psychology and in the years 1967-1981, he directed the Institute of Psychology at Jagiellonian University. He has written 19 books on memory, thought processes, ability, personality, the course of human life and theoretical problems of the attitudes of psychology. He has participated in scores of international congresses and conferences and is a member of many scientific societies. He has behind him several decades of political and social work.

In former times, there were regular outbreaks of epidemics which decimated populations over wide areas in remarkably short periods. In our times, there are epidemics of a different type occurring. I would call them psychosocial epidemics. A record epidemic of just this type has seized our society in the 1980's and it may be said that it has decimated us. What I am referring to is so-called madness. No, this is not something which must be tied to psychopathology or psychiatry. It is simply a matter of behavior which is inadequate to reality with the deception of oneself, and then of others, that such behavior is justified. This is a matter of everyday behavior.

On a wave of completely proper protest by workers in August 1980, which revealed economic and political errors and especially shortcomings of a moral

nature, dissatisfaction and criticism in our country grew. When it seemed that conditions had arisen for overcoming all of what had previously been bad and saving undeniable accomplishments, there appeared not a devil from the Middle Ages, but clothed in the garments of superpatriotism, experienced, native, though not always native, political players from the anticommunist international camp which controlled them and they sowed just those seeds of madness, which falling upon the unusually fertile soil of emotional euphoria and something in the form of secondary political illiteracy, very quickly took fruit and spread over an ever wider field, sparing not even the intellectuals. Suddenly, absolutely everything that has been done in our country by the ideas and work of Poles for almost 35 years was almost totally annulled. Suddenly we found ourselves at the bottom of misery, in the face of starvation. Try to recall what was cried in those days by the very distastefully fattened leaders of the "picnic" at the intersection of Marszalkowska and Aleje Jerozolimskie, Suddenly the bankruptcy of Polish culture that grew up in the socialist state was proclaimed and emigre literature was raised upon a pedestal. Suddenly there appeared innumerable legions of politicians, persons who were previously silent and had used every possible opportunity to claim that politics do not interest them and that they would never let themselves be drawn into politics. Suddenly there appeared masses of missionaries and prophets proclaiming the prompt fall of socialism in Poland and not only in Poland and the ascent of a period of an ultra-Japanese Eldorado, proverbial manna from a heaven strewn with American stars. Volunteers, and not only among the prominent actors, could be counted by the dozen to play the role of Rejtan. The role was played on every occasion, and not always jokingly. The greater part of society believed in what it thought about the workers' protest and felt that the "prophet"-leaders were showing the right way. At this point the madness began. Implacable time fixed the habits in scores of ways. Despite the revelation of what went on behind the scenes, despite slow but consistent changes taking place in our country, and despite their being shown the actual prospects for overcoming the crisis and for a real national rebirth, a large part of society still persisted in thinking in ways suggested to it.

On the shelves of grocery stores there is more than just vinegar and beans, as it was less than a year ago, but in spite of that, nothing can be gotten. It is enough that there were no eggs a few days ago and vengeance is being cried to the heavens. It is enough that tea has not been available for a week (would it be worth finding out whose "fault" it is?) and now we are getting to the bottom of things again. It is enough that in the film chronicle there appears (with real consequences) information that the party and government are taking pains to put the cha-cha in movie theaters. Trains have begun to run on time again at last but as soon as one is late, all of the old jokes come out again. Whining and complaining starts up at tables that are well set. The efforts to outdo one another in "harshness" of formulation is interesting to the psychologist.

Persons that have not been lucky enough to see the news on some foreign television loathe ours in every possible way. Everyone has a pocketful of economic, political, moral and cultural solutions, but they all still lack

that of hard work for the nation and a sober view of reality. People are seldom seen that say they can make ends meet until the end of the month, but if you were to take a closer look at them, you see that it is all a matter of having a lot of extra little things. They sow pessimism around them but they very optimistically settle all of their own affairs. Sunday before last, I was sitting with my grandson on a bench not far from Bielany. Within half an hour, 114 cars drove by. In only 16 of them were there drivers (and one woman) over 30-35 years old. The rest of them were the "lost generation." Wherever you look you see poorly-dressed, underfed people until some foreigner asks you where people get the money to have everything in this impoverished Poland? The cafes are all so empty that there isn't anywhere to sit. However many products show up on the market, people buy them all for cash which they supposedly do not have. And they still beg in spite of this! On Sunday, Mom, Dad and daughter get out of a "Polonez" (yes, a "Polonez") in front of church. They go into the church. Mom says, "Remember, honey, to kiss the priest's hand. Maybe you'll get a nice package in the mail." In the fabric of our daily life there are still many quarter-, half- and full internal emigres that are convinced that Poland will fall apart without them.

That is just what the madness is.

Anyone with open eyes that honestly looks at everything may not deny that our situation is a difficult one, in places very difficult, that much patience is still needed, that we need to give up more than one thing before we will be able to stand firmly on our feet. If one will admit this, then there is no way that to have the sort of attitudes that we were talking about.

The sooner that the people recover from this madness, and the recovery began last year with the great participation of PRON the better it will be for each of us, the better for Poland. This must be especially remembered.

I will now return to the thought with which I began. I am deeply convinced that a huge part of society that let itself go mad (let linguists turn a blind eye at this circulating formulation) was not aware of the fact that it was persuaded into believing that joining the protest is almost the civic duty of every Pole. On a wave of emotion and unleashed, unrestrained fury, proper thinking was impossible or at least very difficult. No one can find blame in this. A young generation brought up on military literature and radio and television broadcasts on World War Two but completely inexperienced politically, sensitive and honest but naive, thought that this was their opportunity to make history. No one can criticize them for this. There does, however, in which one's senses are returned even after the greatest shock. It is only then, when time has been able to veil the scenario of events that the directors of the drama and their principles are revealed and, in this context, the transparent program on a global scale is seen as well. Some people do not want, although they can, to emerge from the madness and put their real patriotism into everyday action for the good of the nation and its rebirth, real national rebirth which was germinated in the beginnings of general social agitation when, against common sense, this rebirth remained buried within their attitudes. It is only then that the demand for

responsibility is binding in full with all of its consequences. In carefully observing the process of transformations being done, I can express my conviction that, in spite of efforts to rekindle the madness which compromise their perpetrators more and more, the process of overcoming the madness is progressing without interruption and the time is coming soon when only isolated refuges (subordinated to those financing the general program of opposition) will be pretending that the crisis is continuing.

There will be only one thing that continues: universal realization of national rebirth and with it the restoration of our socialist fatherland to its rightful place in the world, a place in which future generations will take pride. There is no force that can stop this process.

12261

CSO: 2600/960

POLAND

PROVINCIAL TRADE UNION ACTIVITIES NOTED

Information-Advisory Trade Union Team

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 6 Apr 83 p 3

[Article by Andrzej Luczak: "To Meet Society's Needs: The Information-Advisory Team for Trade Union Affairs"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] /The first quarter of the legally sanctioned and genuine activity of trade unions already is approaching its end. At many plants unionists can draw up a balance sheet of these first few months of activity, while at others steps to establish trade-union organizations are being finalized. Although these two situations are seemingly divided by a fairly long period of time, there is a common bond linking those who already have forged far ahead with those now completing the formalities required for initiating trade-union activity. This is the bond of inexperience, which generally characterizes new trade-union activists—inexperience in interpreting new regulations as well, and also the bond of desire to obtain professional advice; both groups want to operate rationally and be aware of the least shortcomings even./

All these social needs are being met by the Information-Advisory Team for Trade Unions operating under the Office of the Poznan Province People's Council. The team consists of civic-minded volunteers who, by virtue of their professional training (lawyers) or rich life experience (councilmen and long-time trade unionists) are competent to provide professional counseling.

This team, appointed shortly after the government decree had been proclaimed, has been enriching the forms of its activity with time and the development of the situation in the trade-union movement.

We asked Docent Doctor Habilitatus Tadeusz Nowak, a lawyer who directs the work of the team, to comment on this topic.

"Currently our team focuses on three principal directions of action. /The basic direction remains the provision of regular advice and consultation for the formation of new trade-union organizations./ We observe at present a second upsurge, as it were, in the rise of trade unions from the scratch. This is related to our activity in explaining the legal provisions governing trade-union affairs, providing assistance in the drafting of bylaws and voting regulations and in the preparation of other documents.

"Another domain of our current activity, its higher form, consists in /providing assistance to the already active newly elected union boards./ There exist several groups of problems or rather doubts characteristic of this stage of the activity of unionists. They turn to us chiefly for assistance in determining their plan of activities and the topics which it should contain. We draw their attention to the need to include typical local community questions--this serves to avoid generalizations and elevate the importance of the organization.

/"Another currently characteristic issue is that of receiving the assets of the former trade unions. Not everyone is sufficiently knowledgeable about this matter and the principal doubts concern the question of whether this should be done with the assistance and under the supervision of administrative authorities. We explain--and through the mediation of your newspaper this information will surely reach a larger circle of those concerned--that the trade-union board is competent to ask the enterprise director for the formal transfer of these assets. That is all that is needed: from that moment on the assets belong to the new trade unions./

"The size of these assets differs in different plants. We suggest a rational determination of the budget. We point out chiefly that trade unions, being self-governing organizations, have to specify guidelines for their cells as regards the administration of these assets. We also provide advice on simplified bookkeeping procedures. In this connection, we drafted sample guidelines which we provide on request to individual trade unions. We advocate a rational spending of organization funds. Allowance should be made for current membership but at the same time future membership should be planned.

"The third characteristic problem of the current period of activity is /the question of paying statutory allowances./ At the end of March, social services commissions have completely ceased activity. Payments of allowances are being taken over by trade unions, but only with respect to their members. The size of these allowances is determined--within the framework of their self-government rights--by individual trade unions, and it depends solely on their available funds. Trade-union activity (and hence also payments of allowances) can be conducted only by elected union authorities and not by the union founding committees which in some plants evolved into provisional union authorities--this situation is inconsonant with the law.

"Yet another direction of our current activity is the /organization of training/. After having provided training of a general nature for all activists of the trade union movement, we are now converting to subsector-oriented training. A more specific determination of local community issues is unusually important.

"As of the beginning of April we are working with trade-union activists from state farms. They will be the first [in agriculture] for two reasons: first, they are a numerous group and second, we did not want to interfere with their farm work, which had grown markedly with the onset of spring. We regard this training as experimental, because the desire to organize supra-plant trade union structures is growing apace. The selection of the optimal related variant and its subsequent implementation are tasks for the very near future to our team.

Trade Union Activities

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 8 Apr 83 p 2

[Unsigned and signed news briefs: "From the Life of Trade Unions"]

[Text] At his third consultation meeting in a row with trade unions, Lukasz Balcer, the Gdansk Province Governor, in behalf of the local state administration, presented topics for joint analysis to unionists from education, science, health service, culture and tourist service. This refers to social and housing problems as well as problems of the functioning of trade, the operation of cultural facilities which lack patronage, and assistance to various kinds of artistic ensembles. The topic of consultation within the teacher community will be problems ensuing from the implementation of The Teacher's Charter.

[Article by (id)

On 6 [April 1983] the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union of Post and Telecommunications Employees at the Office for Supervision and Coordination in Gdynia was registered by decision of the Province Court in Gdansk. It has at present 86 members among the approximately 360 employees of the post and telecommunications offices in Gdynia. The registration was handled by a 3-member presidium elected by the union's 14-member founding committee. The presidium chairman is Augystyn Barylski. He had not previously been a trade unionist, but he became known to his co-workers and colleagues by his activist participation in the Office's social services commission last year.

Currently the founding committee is developing the plan of activities for the next few weeks, considering that an important meeting, during which elections to officers of the new union, is scheduled for this coming May.

The membership of the Trade Union of Employees of the Polish Oceanic Lines [PLO] has risen to over 1,000 as of this month. The 1,000-th membership declaration was filled out by Wlodzimierz Pokojnikow, mechanic 4th class from the motorship "Heweliusz"--a PLO ship cruising on the route to the eastern coast of South America, which has docked until 16 [April 83] at the Port of Gdynia. It is worth noting that 12 crew members on this ship, including its captain Jerzy Gajewski, belong to the trade union. The head of the trade-union organization and the crew's delegate is the carpenter Marian Chlasta.

Of the 1,013 members of the trade union of PLO employees most represent ship crews--511. The remainder are 341 land-based employees plus 161 pensioners.

Management of Trade Union Property

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 11 Apr 83 p 5

[Article by Jerzy Dragonik: "How to Administer Trade Union Assets" under the rubric "Trade Union Topics"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] The question of how to manage trade union assets is becoming particularly important now that trade unions are engaging in full-scale normal activities, i.e. following general meetings and elections of officers. For then it is indispensable to obtain the funds needed for the activities specified in the program resolution. Being self-governing, the unions have to rely chiefly on their own funds--thus the bylaws of each should specify the sources for funding its activities.

The principal source of income is union dues, payable monthly by members in amounts specified in bylaws. The dues are as a rule fixed at a percentage of remuneration, which here is interpreted as all the components of earnings (base pay, functional allowances, service allowances, seniority allowance, all bonuses, etc.). On the other hand, no union dues are payable from allowances granted on merit (e.g. awards), honorariums for inventions and commissioned work and authors' honorariums. In the event of illness lasting longer than a month, dues are computed as a percentage of sickness benefits. The procedure for the collection of dues should be opined upon by the general meeting--depending on the will of members, dues may be withheld from wages (upon declaration of consent by members) or paid individually to the union's treasury. It is the duty of the board to keep exact records of dues payments on a continuing basis. Interruptions in payments of dues for reasons outside the control of members, e.g. unpaid leaves, unemployment or military service do not, as a rule, imply cessation of membership status. All other interruptions, however, must be validated by the union board on condition that arrears are paid.

Another source of income is subsidies from the work establishments and eventual donations and bequests. The subsidies should be accepted by the union solely for purposes associated with statutory activity, e.g. additional financing of social, consumer, cultural and educational services. The union should not accept from the work establishment funds for conducting activities that are among the obligations of the management, nor for financing awards, gifts, receptions with refreshments, acquisition of equipment, etc.

The union budget is also funded from income from cultural, entertainment and sports events organized by the union as well as from other statutory activities, such as fees for participation in excursions, for vacation trips, and for theatre and cinema tickets. The amount of reimbursement for union members and other individuals is determined by the board.

This year the assets of the former plant trade-union organizations are to be additionally credited to the income. In view of the frequent discussions of this topic at plants, it deserves broader treatment. It is often asked whether it is just that these old assets, contributed by nearly the entire workforce (because such, until recently, had been the extent of trade-union membership) should benefit the now numerically much smaller union membership, and whether in such a situation should not these assets be transferred for general-social purposes to, e.g. the social services fund? People who ask this question should be reminded that union funds, which derive chiefly from membership dues, are destined for financing union activities rather than for direct distribution among members; without these funds no trade union would be capable of engaging in its statutory activities.

The dues paid for belonging to any organization (including a trade-union organization as well) cease to be the property of the member and become the property of the organization, adding to the funds from which all members of the organization are entitled to benefit on equal terms. This is traditionally a self-help activity, since the greater part of union assets was and should remain allocated for material assistance in the form of statutory allowances, supplementary allowances and all kinds of extra assistance. That is why, in its trade-union decree, the Parliament authorized the renascent trade-union movement to benefit from the existing assets of the former trade unions. Any other decision would simply have meant nationalization of these assets, inconsonant with the purpose for which they had been accumulated. A major feature of the trade-union movement is its "open door" policy. This means that any plant employee has the right to join the union and by the same token also to benefit from membership privileges and co-decide on the utilization of assets by participating in general meetings at which budgets and their implementation are approved. Thus, there is no valid argument against benefiting from the funds of the previous organizations. The problem rather reduces to managing these assets in accordance with their purpose, in a thrifty and rational manner./

/The funds at the union's disposal should be destined primarily for protecting the rights and interests of union members and meeting those of their social, cultural and educational needs which cannot be financed by the work establishments. The size of expenditures on discrete purposes hinges, of course, on the particular possibilities and needs and will thus differ for different unions depending on their incomes as linked chiefly to size of membership./

/To return to the problem of the assets of the former trade-union organizations, it is worth noting that the assets subject to takeover include not only those accumulated in bank accounts but also movable and immovable property. A large part of the former plant trade-union organizations (especially subsector-wide unions) had owned substantial quantities of sports and tourist equipment, libraries and cultural facilities. During the period of the suspension of trade-union activities these assets had been, by virtue of law, administered by the directors of work establishments. However, we receive reports that part of these assets has "volatilized" under obscure circumstances. Hence, the takeover of these assets should be carried out on the basis of a report signed by a delivery-acceptance commission according to their status as recorded on the date of the transfer, with allowance for the recorded inventory. Any irregularities that come to light should be immediately reported to the appropriate province governor who could delegate his representative to supervise the related activities upon the proposal of each party./

Equipment constituting union property may be, upon a resolution by the union board, transmitted gratis to the plant management which then assumes the obligation of its safeguarding, maintenance and bookkeeping as well as of leasing it to members of the workforce. Such equipment may not be destined for other purposes without the union's approval. Daily organizational activities require financial outlays. Hence the director of the work establishment is obligated to release an employee from his job duties--on preserving his right to receive wages--for the period required to perform activities relating to his post in the trade union if such activities cannot be performed in his leisure time. The union may not make any extra expenditures for this reason. The director of the work establishment has been legally bound to provide the union with office

premises and technical means assuring its proper functioning, which is construed as the costs of maintenance of premises, electricity and heat, telephone and postal fees, office materials and secretarial service.

The union board has the duty of accounting to its members for its management of assets. At least once a year the board should report to the general meeting on financial activities and the status of assets. The report has to be ratified by participants in the meeting, in the form of an appropriate resolution. For the issue is that union funds should optimally serve union members, meeting at least partially their needs, and that they should be expended under regular social control.

Trade Union Problems

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 13 Apr 83 p 2

[Article by (klos): "Concerning Problems of the Trade-Union Movement"]

[Text] The most urgent problems of the work of the already existing trade-union elements were discussed during a meeting organized on the initiative of the Province Information-Advisory Team for Trade Union Affairs, active under the Province People's Council in Lomza.

The meeting was attended by 21 representatives of the trade-union elements already operating in the province's work establishments. During the often tumultuous discussion many problems of these activities were mentioned. Among other things, demands were made for a rapid normalization of trade-union affairs and allocation of the assets of the former trade unions. It was stated that in many cases it had been expected that the management of work establishments would show greater interest in the formation of trade-union organizations. This problem exists even now that many trade-union elements already are active. The need to augment the flow of information was also postulated, on regarding this as a factor indispensable to the unfolding of activities.

Aspects of the principles for determining the salaries of salaried union staff were the topic of preliminary discussion, as was the problem of legal protection of union officers following the expiration of term of office. Questions concerning the size, level and principles for the determination of statutory allowances were raised and the need to draft model membership declarations and identity cards was also mentioned.

The province governor, Jerzy Zientara, who attended the meeting, discussed the social and economic situation in the province. He declared that the activities of the new unions should in the present situation be chiefly concentrated on shaping occupational ethics in their milieu as well as on tasks intended to improve the culture and effectiveness of work.

As we were informed by Mieczyslaw Jagielak, the chairman of the province advisory team, similar meetings will be organized in the future for discrete subsector groups of trade unions. They will augment the possibilities for inferring and defining more precisely conclusions concerning further cooperation with trade unions.

/A vital issue is--according to the unionists--improving the information flow to trade unions and a definite expansion of information presented in the press on the activities of trade unions in Bydgoszcz Province. The discussants acknowledged the validity of organizing regular monthly trade-union meetings on the subsector scale in the province, as well as of quarterly meetings on the all-province scale. Several comments expressed the view that the unions do not

always sense adequate interest in their affairs on the part of plant party organizations./[printed in boldface]

The questions asked in the discussion and the problems formulated in it were answered by: the province governor, the deputy governors and the deputy chairman of the Information-Advisory Team.

The governor's plenipotentiary for regular contacts with trade unions is--as was announced at the meeting--deputy governor Tadeusz Gliwa.

1386

CSO: 2600/826

POLAND

PROVINCIAL TRADE UNION ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Importance of Trade Unions

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 27 May 83 p 3

[Article by Maria Kedzierska: "A Trade Union Is Not a Side Track"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] /The sharpest of the conflicts known to me arose in the KUJAWY Cement Plant, Bielawy, Bydgoszcz Province. That is a large plant, with about 25 percent of the active employees belonging to the trade union out of a workforce of about 2,500. Two explosive issues had existed there for some time. Now one has remained./

/The controversies about the rules for distributing the incentive bonus have softened. The trade union was of the opinion that the initially established rules for that distribution definitely favored all managerial posts, ranking at the bottom and too low the employees engaged directly in production and performing heavy work requiring considerable skill and responsibility. Following sharp attacks by the trade union, a corrected version was offered by the opposite side./

The question of the allocation of apartments in the plant-sponsored apartment complex which will be released for occupancy only some time in July or August is like a still burning conflagration. It is so even though the problem arose only in mid-February, when the trade union had already been registered but its founding committee was still in being and represented. At the time that committee had questioned the then specified list of allocations and succeeded in making it into a list of proposals that could be questioned and appealed against. It is a fact, however, that the list still exists to this very day. The point is that--in the words of the trade union's chairman Sylwester Napierala--a large percentage of the proposed allocations concerns changes from good apartments to newer ones with better amenities. Altogether, 40 apartments are allocated on the list, which names persons who would relocate from M-4 (that is, from recently erected buildings) to...M-4. Several substitutions of a similar type concern M-3 as well. The union does not agree with the principle that some persons are to be relocated for a second or perhaps even a third time to newer apartment buildings while others can at best dream of occupying the apartments they vacate. The union also questions basing the allocation of apartments on the criterion of special usefulness of employees to the plant, considering that this operates to the disadvantage of the workers among the workforce. The struggle about the list of apartment allocations continues, and recently the union's opinions met with support in the more definite positions taken on this problem by the PZPR Plant Committee.

The problem is not, however, the manner of distribution alone. A direct aspect of this matter is the fact that the original list was determined without consulting the trade union although it had already been registered in court and possessed

legal entity at the time. The decisions were taken by the housing commission, formed even before December 1981 from persons delegated by the strong Solidarity and the much weaker branch members. Today these trade unions no longer exist but the commission, acting under the direction of a plant deputy director, has remained.

Between Dispute and Conflict

Disputes always will be--it could be said--an element of authentic action by trade unions. It is precisely by tenaciously pursuing the matter, piling up arguments and somewhat altering its own position as well, that the trade union at the Torun ELANA [expansion unknown], succeeded in bargaining with the management for a favorable revision of wage rates for the members of the four-brigade work system. This also is how certain revisions in bonusing rules were introduced by trade unions at the Bydgoszcz MAKRUM [Pomeranian Machine Industry Works] and the Torun EMA-APATOR [Pomeranian Electrical Equipment Works].

But here we are dealing not with disputes but with conflicts--those existing in an advanced stage or in an initial stage and finally those that have been resolved. Such conflicts are engendered and kept alive either by disregard of trade unions or by denying them in practice the right to influence significantly decisions vital to the worker community. They are engendered by relegating the unions to a side track, to a secondary role at the plant.

Unfortunately, such instances exist. We are not dealing here with isolated events, although these too are important. Thus why has, for example, the opinion of the trade union proved unneeded when deciding upon proposals for the granting of awards and distinctions at the Pomeranian Building Materials Enterprise? After all, it is the business of the trade union not only to protect weak persons or those having troubles but also to represent the interests of those who work well and are the pillars of the plant community. This is particularly important now that more than once it is precisely these individuals who should be restored to their former positions and esteem.

But let us dwell on what is not an incident. For a long time a fairly acute conflict has been existing at the Janikowski Soda Works. The local union has a large membership accounting for 40 percent of the workforce and led by an experienced activist. The explosion that broke out there had seemed trivial. It concerned one of the bonusing rules. According to the version of the management [and] the worker council, bonuses were to be automatically reduced by such and such number of points for...admonitions and reprimands. The union said "no." First of all, reducing a bonus may serve to penalize an employee for a particular action rather than for the decision for an admonition or a reprimand. Secondly, punishment is a serious matter, while no action is equal to another the circumstances surrounding the condemnation of the employee also matter when, e.g. the same admonition is meted out in two different cases. Thirdly, human problems cannot be resolved as easily as computer problems and require special consideration of every individual case, which is the duty and right of the trade union. The proposed point system automates the decisions as it were and dispenses with the opinion of the trade union.

In sum, the problem proved extremely complex. It acquired yet another and unusually important dimension. Namely, the reasons for the trade union's existence depended on its resolution. In a nutshell, the decision on the final

draft of the bonusing regulations is made by the worker council. I personally believe--having witnessed the most heated stage of this controversy--that the events had been unfolding in the direction of nullifying the position of a union with a membership of 800 by the resolution of the presidium, consisting of 15 or so members--of the worker council in favor of its unrevised version of the regulations. The matter did not go that far, and the plant director backed out, although he did not conceal his dislike of the correction suggested by the trade union. The secret of the trade union's success is traceable in some way--I believe--to the activities of the PZPR Plant Committee. No pressure was exerted, but the committee supported in a fairly discreet manner the opinion of the trade union.

Diffusion of Competences

At the Pomeranian Industrial Construction Enterprise in Bydgoszcz conflicts are avoided by both the unionists and the management. Officially at least. At the same time, the union's board is interpreting in depth the decree on... worker self-government. It is doing so in order to reach the more weighty--though somewhat masochistic, it goes without saying--conclusion that all decisionmaking powers, including those concerning the living conditions of the workforce (e.g. social services investments) belong to the worker council. And what about the trade union? It may make comments and suggestions! The reflections on the above-mentioned decree provide--I am convinced--justification for plant practice.

I had visited that trade union after the signal was given. As for the conflict, it arose when the plant director appointed a commission for...employee problems. The issue was membership in that commission. Various plant organizations had one representative apiece in it, the union included. The worker council believed that it should be represented by two members--because it alone represents the entire workforce. The union was outraged! It realized that in such a situation it would always be the weaker side. In the end it was decided that all the organizations would be equally represented in the director's commission.

To be honest, the problem of that very commission itself had remained. In the end, its very appointment relegated the trade union from the principal representative, adviser, opinionmaker and, in some cases, obligatory decisionmaker in employee matters, as law and custom dictate, to just one of five or six. I believe that in this case the director was sincerely concerned for democracy. Besides, he openly admits that he was motivated by the fact of the still low union membership among the workforce. But excessive democracy can be destructive, too, by e.g. endowing other partners with competences essential to the existence of a given organization or function.

Borderline of Vexations

The major axis on the map of the conflicts presented here runs between the trade unions and the worker council, with which the plant director has an arrangement. Practice shows that these are fairly typical situations in cases of conflict.

Essentially, in itself the situation should not be surprising--had not concrete instances been considered. That is, it should not be surprising if it merely led to disputes. In the end, the worker council is the workforce's representative body for co-governing the plant--for sharing in decisions on production, organization, etc. Its side is the side of the organizers of production and the

management of the plant, the side of the complex whole of matters involved in astute management of the plant's, and hence also the country's, assets. These matters need not be indifferent to the trade union, but it must view the plant and what is happening in it from the standpoint of, chiefly, the employee, through the prism of his problems and situation. It is thus natural that these two views may collide and result in differing appraisals and conclusions. Yes, it even must be so, because only this engenders a sensible plant reality.

The nature of the problem considered here consists in that there are plants--as seen from the instances presented above--in which worker councils or some commissions appointed by the management appropriate to themselves decisionmaking powers on matters as well in which the trade union has the principal say. The union is left with, at most, the choice of issuing opinions on such matters and subsequently the possibility of contesting the already taken decisions, even though it can be later, purely and simply, overruled.

There are managements and worker councils which--by law and many years of custom--are aware of who is who, and in such plants the trade unions do not have to struggle for the chance of an active existence or burn out in skirmishes. This is rather the rule in our present social landscape. No one here cites the letter of the decree on self-governments or compare it with the admittedly somewhat enigmatic rights of the trade unions as specified in the decree on trade unions (however, unionists increasingly criticize the shortcomings of that decree). These things are simply known--in our country we are not in the stage of learning the rudiments of the trade-union alphabet.

I believe that in places where this is otherwise we are dealing with something more than controversies relating to prestige. Here and there, elements of political struggle are involved. The conflict arises most often wherever worker councils had already been formed in the period prior to December 1981 [martial law proclamation]--that is at a time of great tensions and the propagation of diverse notions about the role and functions of worker self-government. The decree derives from that period, too. Trade unions were formed later. They are not welcomed by part of the workforce. The worker councils which engage in conflict with them offer sometimes also the demagogic argument that it is they and not the unions that represent the entire workforce.

The unions do not find it easy in such conflicts. After all, at present they are the weaker side. Their officers consist of new activists, often young and inexperienced people. An overwhelming majority of the union and aktiv membership are workers. Worker councils have greater experience, and besides most of their members are recruited from managerial personnel. The councils have decisionmaking powers which have to be taken into account by the plant director.

For these reasons, too, trade unions thus place such great hope in [the establishment] of supra-plant trade union structures, from which they expect support, advice and enhanced union strength. That is so, even though the unions themselves have been toughened by the struggle. For contrary to various calumnies, these are courageous and militant trade unions that create new norms. The heart of the matter lies always in the sense and purpose of the regulations prompting activity!

Program for Indoctrinating Union Activists

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 3 Jun 83 p 1

[Article by A.L.: "Program for Training Trade-Union Activists"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] /OWN INFORMATION. More than 13,500 trade unions have been registered throughout the country, with the courts processing about 1,500 additional proposals for registration. Achieving legal entity is only the beginning of the difficult work for which the trade-union movement has been called into being. It is estimated that at least one-half of the persons elected as officers of trade-union organizations are inexperienced activists who had never before held any offices in the trade-union movement. At the same time, the process of the establishment of supra-plant trade-union structures pursuant to the revised legal foundations of trade-union activity, as well owing to the changed position of enterprises within the system of intra-plant relations, is becoming increasingly widespread./

All these elements of the crystallization of the trade-union movement in its new form indicate that its activists should have broad knowledge of trade-union and employee rights as well as of the economic and socio-political conditions under which this movement is being built and operates.

To meet this need, the public Advisory Committee under the Council of State has prepared guidelines for training trade-union aktiv during the next 2 years. The current training curriculum, followed since February in Jachranka near Warsaw and in Katowice, will benefit 8,000 unionists by the end of this year. These courses will be continued next year, too, but by then they will be organized separately for groups of unionists from discrete subsectors of the economy and on the basis of a modified program. As of this coming September, a new training center as well as a specialist center for educating the aktiv of supra-plant union structures will be opened.

In addition, next year 13 regional inter-province centers for trade-union training will be opened. It is assumed that every union officer will be enabled to participate twice in training exercises during his term of office.

Trade Unions Among Foundry Workers

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 6 Jun 83 pp 1,2

[Interview with Teodor Kloc by Jacek Gallant: "On Trade Unions of Lublin Foundry Workers: SZTANDAR LUDU Interview With Teodor Kloc"]

[Text] /The LUBLIN Metallurgical Works, which are part of the URSUS Tractor Industry Association], are still in the construction stage. Following its completion, this plant will be one of the most modern in Europe. It has a workforce of about 850. Recently, toward the end of last May, the employees of the Lublin URSUS elected officers of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union [NSZZ] of Employees of the LUBLIN Metallurgical Works. Teodor Kloc was elected chairman of this new trade union./ [printed in boldface]

[Question] Could you describe how the NSZZ of Employees of the Metallurgical Works in Lublin was established?

[Answer] After the decree on trade unions was promulgated, in October of last year, as chairman of the Social Services Commission, I gathered with several persons to whom I presented the issue. By means of communiques and talks with people we commenced the process of establishing trade unions. This is how was formed the initiating committee, which consisted of D. Blazewicz, D. Dados, J. Pernach, K. Podlesny, T. Suwalski and me. Later the membership of that group grew to 17, and on 21 December of last year we transformed our group into the Trade Unions Founding Committee at our plant. We began to draft the union statute. After a month we submitted the draft to all employees, at an open meeting. During the subsequent 2 weeks we still accepted comments and suggestions and, through department liaison persons and the local radio station, attempted to familiarize everyone with the provisions of the statute. In the end, following acceptance by union members, we authorized six members of the Founding Committee to attend to the formalities involved in registering the union at the Province Court in Lublin. On 9 March of this year the NSZZ of Employees of the Metallurgical Works was registered. On 23 and 26 May of this year we convened in two stages the First Program-Elections Conference at which we elected officers of the union and voted on a program of action.

[Question] I suppose that while still an informal trade union, and also while existing in the form of the Founding Committee, you already started to solve employee problems?

[Answer] Yes, as the Founding Committee we "entered" into all problems of individual employees and the plant. For example, we collected opinions and subsequently issued our own opinion on the proposals of plant employees regarding the list of persons to whom plant housing was to be allocated. Our opinion was asked concerning a recommendation for dismissing two employees for drunkenness. Of course, they were dismissed. On the proposal of the plant employees and in behalf of the Social Services Commission and the Founding Committee, we proposed to the management that all new employees residing more than 100 km from Lublin should be given a day off from work once a month. We also opined on the rules for incentive bonuses and the interim plant wage rate table and we were consulted on a project specifying the pay allowance and wage rates for foremen. In this last case our proposal resulted in increasing that allowance.

[Question] Did you have any problems with the management or employees of the Metallurgical Works while forming the new trade union?

[Answer] There were neither problems nor conflicts. To be sure, some employees claimed that the trade unions were handiwork of the party or the plant management, but soon they became convinced that they stemmed from the "grassroots" initiative of workers. The management was favorably disposed toward us--as exemplified by their giving us a furnished office and financing from the plant treasury all our expenses.

[Question] I know that your trade union has joined the Federation of Metallurgical Trade Unions. How is the cooperation in that plane?

[Answer] At the conference the union membership voted to join that federation. From that time on we have been in regular contact with our colleagues throughout the

country who, like we, exist within the same supra-plant structure. Recently two of our representatives attended a meeting at Konskie where Federation affairs were discussed. On 11 June of this year the First Congress of the Federation of Metallurgical Trade Unions will be held in Katowice. We will send two representatives.

[Question] Thus you have plenty to do. What about the future?

[Answer] We want to establish a housing cooperative under our plant. We already set up a founding committee and have the funds and other resources and are only awaiting the approval of the municipal authorities and, specifically, the determination of the site. In the 4th quarter of this year or early next year we are to receive 68 apartments. Under the plan through 1987 we are to receive 800 apartments and we want that schedule to be followed. In addition, we shall try to improve the social services for and living conditions of our employees, because, e.g. canteen meals have recently grown markedly worse and we lack water in the main hall owing to the absence of an intake.

As unionists, we want to create openly and publicly cooperation on partnership principles; we want to build accord and understanding among employees, members of socio-political organizations. Above all, we want to serve employees.

[Question] In view of this, what should I wish you?

[Answer] Wish me that our plant would begin production as soon as possible that that we as unionists would be properly helped if we have some problem.

[Question] Thank you for the interview, and I wish you that.

Union Workers at Malaszewice Rail Stop

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 7 Jun 83 p 4

[Article by J.Sw.: "The Need to Combine Forces: Among Unionists at Malaszewice"]

[Text] /The intentions and daily work of plant trade union elements gain increasing approval among employees--including those who are not yet members of the new organizations or who have until recently adopted a wait-and-see attitude. The union program is open to all and the initiatives taken in the interest of and to the benefit of the workforces convince that trade unions are trying to solve effectively vital problems of employees./ [printed in boldface]

At the transshipment station of the PKP [Polish State Railroads] in Malaszewice--the largest work establishment in Biala-Podlaska Province--six trade-union organizations have been formed: in the railroad car department, the locomotive department, the repair and equipment base, the PKP station, the Malaszewice directorate, and the Biala Podlaska Station. The numerically largest organization operates at the directorate, where it has 357 members out of more than 1,700 employees. In the other five organizations membership comprises 10-15 percent of the workforces.

We attended a session of the presidium of the trade union organization at the directorate. Its chairman, Krzysztof Antoniuk, presented the agenda. The principal item concerned the principles for awarding Ministry of Railroads decorations. As it turned out, following the traditional guidelines, the directorate decided that one "Leading Railroader" silver badge will be awarded for every 50 persons employed in a given railroad service and one "For Service to Transport" gold badge for every 246 persons. This principle was adopted and adhered to closely when awarding the badges.

So what happened? Generally speaking, this led to a lot of misunderstandings. Numerically small service organizations were combined into larger ones, but even then they still did not become numerous enough to qualify for their share of the badges; thus, they were allocated purely symbolic distinctions without specifying the individuals who should receive them.

It was just at that point that the session participants made suggestions. They said: "Services cannot be combined. A decoration cannot be a winning lottery ticket. What should count is seniority and effective performance."

Someone proposed that more decorations should be awarded to persons directly employed in transloading, because they are the core of the Malaszewice workforce.

Others supported him: "That's fair. After all, some of them have been working in Malaszewice for 20 or 30 years and so far haven't received a single distinction."

Incidentally, a dilemma emerged during this whole discussion: why did the administration distribute the badges without participation by trade unions, on merely asking them to accept decisions already taken?

The members of the presidium declared: "As new trade unions being formed from the scratch, we can't let ourselves be managed. We can't follow the dicta of the administration. If we do, we shall never gain the trust of the workforce. People will begin to drop out of the trade union."

As a result, the list of persons scheduled to receive the decorations by the administration was once more perused and appropriate revisions were made. In the future, however--the discussants emphasize--the trade union organization should not act on the spur of surprise, because unreasoned and hasty decisions will not redound to its glory and splendor.

Increasingly often, out of the need for more effective action and a "stronger" voice, unionists conceive tendencies to combine into national trade-union organizations--ministry-wide or occupational. It was precisely to the Malaszewice organization that the General Meeting of the Trade Union of Railroaders at the Rail Transshipment Region in Tarnowskie Gory had appealed. One part of that appeal stated: "In view of the development of the trade-union movement of railroaders, we believe that a supra-plant structure should arise with the object of coordinating and integrating the activities of the nascent trade unions in behalf of the railroader community."

The unionists from Tarnowskie Gory proposed organizing a consultation meeting of the existing trade unions at the PKP enterprise on 25 June of this year. The proposal met with approval from the presidium of the trade-union organization in Malaszewice.

Krzysztof Antoniuk said: "We're a young union. It was as recently as on 6 May [83] that we elected our board. Now we want to consider the organizational structure and scheme. We also are thinking of intra-plant integration. Already at a recent joint session of the chairmen of the individual trade-union organizations active within this rail transshipment region we made such a proposal. We met with resistance on the grounds that we represent a trade union organization operating at the level of the railroad directorate. So perhaps we will establish a kind of federation in which everyone will be treated equal and have the same vote? One thing is certain: there is a need for mutual communication and concerted action.

Union Problems in Small Cooperative

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 8 Jun 83 pp 3,4

[Article by Wojciech Jaros: "Great Conflicts and...Emotions in a Small Cooperative: What is the Real Issue?"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] /En route to the Cooperative I knew that it was the site of a divisive conflict between its officers and the newly established trade union. The fact that the conflict has lasted for several months seemed to demonstrate additionally that it already entered the emotional sphere, complicating for both parties a calm approach to its nature./

/The chairwoman of the trade union wrote a letter to the editors of this newspaper. Describing the difficulties being caused to her, she invited us to come and see for ourselves what can the trade union accomplish--tangibly and concretely, in spite of the difficulties./

We met at the cooperative chairman's office. On one side of the room was the Cooperative Board and on the other, the chairwoman of the union. Both parties were present so that no one would say that the other party used arguments unknown to them and which they could not take a position on. The atmosphere was tense. And yet the situation had not been like that at the beginning. /Initially it had seemed that cooperation with the cooperative's management had a good chance to develop for the wellbeing of the workforce./ The cooperative chairman had assigned an office, a telephone and a bulletin board to the union-initiating group. That was in the beginning of November. Soon, however, the first signs of friction appeared. They were related to the union's organizing activities. For it must be stated that in this field there reigned from the beginning

A Great Imbroglio

The union chairwoman reproaches the cooperative chairman or his subordinate Board office employees for having caused the disappearance of the communique on the formation of the trade union, which did not reach the cooperative's departments

located outside its main seat. For this very reason, only a minimal number of people had joined the union in these departments. In November, too, despite the request made by the union chairwoman, she was not provided with the addresses of 50 cottage-industry workers whom she wanted to ask to join the union. In addition, when last December she was absent from work for 2 days in order to attend to union matters, her superiors declared her absence to be unexcused, which affected the size of her bonus. True enough, at the time she had worked on a piecework basis and did not notify anyone about her absences, but still....It is worth noting, incidentally, that after her complaints had been investigated, the cooperative withdrew that decision. Her absences were excused and her bonus restored to the right size.

Between January and April of this year the union chairwoman was on sickness leave. It was during that period that on visiting the plant she learned that the board took back the premises it had given to the union.

The chief bookkeeper said: "At that time an outside accountant was conducting a financial audit of our Cooperative. There was no room to put him, and since the office occupied by the chairwoman was vacant during her absence, we let the accountant use it for several days."

His declaration was complemented by the chairman of the supervising council, the highest-ranking representative body in the cooperative. He stressed that the council has no offices of its own, just as in the past the branch union [Solidarity] did not have any either. One has to accept the crowded conditions and the lack of any rooms that could be let vacant all the time.

On 24 February, that is, while the chairwoman was still on sickness leave, rapid elections of union officers were conducted. /Two versions of this event exist. the first is that the elections were by secret ballot, democratic and properly organized. Sixty-eight percent of the members took part in the elections and everyone was notified in advance except those who did not show up for work on that day./ Eighteen persons had entered the room and two had left it during the elections. The remainder had unanimously elected the Board: the chairwoman, her deputy, the secretary and the chairwoman of the inspection commission. During the elections a group of employees tried to force entry into the reading lounge where they were held. In the opinion of the chairwoman they did not belong to the trade union. So she barred the door with a table.

/The other version undermines the legality of the elections. Chiefly because, if the number of unionists recorded on that day is taken at 36 persons according to the chairwoman, then 18 or 16 persons in no way represent 68 percent of the membership./ Moreover, the chairwoman notified only selected persons about the meeting, on the day on which it was held, and it was only those that were present. Those attempting unsuccessfully to enter the room also were union members. At least, they had the right to think so, since they had already filled out declarations of membership previously. Unfortunately, these declarations cannot be found. The chairwoman kept the records in her home on the grounds that part of the declarations she entrusted to her deputy had disappeared from the union office. During the elections there was no time to determine whether those standing behind the door were or were not union members. In addition to the declarations, the membership list, the minutes of the election meeting and the

report of the examining commission had also disappeared. Thus the basic doubts cannot be clarified. What remains are only verbal arguments.

One of the participants in that election meeting said: "I and my friend left the meeting because in our opinion there was no quorum for the elections."

The following union officers resigned their posts: the chairwoman of the inspection commission and the union secretary.

The union chairwoman agrees to the suggestion that the elections be conducted anew--with the proviso that while the group of members personally opposed to her are thinking of completely new elections, she believes that it would be enough to limit them to elections to vacant posts on the board. For since she has already been elected, why should she be elected again, and besides there is the risk that she might be replaced by someone less committed who might be less determined and capable of

Fighting the Board

in the interest of the cooperative members. And it must be admitted that, ever since its formation, the union has been exercising this role very effectively.

This began with the copy of the letter to the Cooperative Board, posted on the bulletin board, asking the Board to deny the rumors about the distribution of goods and bonuses destined for the workforce. And in general, this all began with rumors circulating in the plant which it would be a good thing to deny officially in writing. Rumors on other matters, too, circulated within the union. The union, in the person of the chairwoman, collected meticulously these rumors and posted them publicly on, of course, asking for explanations. At the same time, letters of a similar nature were sent to the procurature of the PZPR City Committee, the Province Party Control Commission and the Supreme Chamber of Control [NIK]. To be sure all the inspections found the rumors to be incorrect, but....

The chairwoman claims: "It would have been enough if the cooperative chairman had denied all this in writing instead of during a meeting with the workforce. Then there would have been no problem."

The cooperative chairman asks: "What more do you want? Should I deposit declarations that I don't steal or accept bribes and that I'm not a crook everytime somebody cooks up some story?"

Incidentally, at some moment the chairman's nerves gave way and he ordered removal of the bulletin board until such calumnies would stop appearing on it. To be sure, this was interference into union affairs, but the chairwoman made a bargain. She would not post any more such accusations on the bulletin board. She agreed, and even in her conversation with this reporter she did not complain about it. Neither did she complain about the fact that between mid-May and the end of June she is on an unpaid furlough--at her own request, considering that the plant refused to continue her pay while releasing her for the purpose of attending to union affairs. There are about 70 union members and in the cooperative board's opinion a part-time release for a specific monthly number of hours would be enough.

The chairwoman asserts: "This is not enough. There are so many matters to attend to that 8 hours daily are needed for them."

And What Has This Union Done?

so far, besides engaging in disputes with the management? This question was asked at the workforce meeting which I attended. Immediately there was a murmur of voices. "We don't want to belong to such a union, which is so disorganized and confused! What do we need it for? We need new elections!"

Only one person tried to defend the union in its current shape, asking: "Why is everybody so upset? So far the chairwoman has done nothing wrong to us. She means well. She may be right in wanting to clarify various matters."

But no one else supports her opinion. For it has just been announced that the distribution of bonuses from profits has been postponed until June because, among other things, a basic task of the union in the last 2 months has been providing explanations to various commissions arriving on inspection visits to the cooperative following the reception of letters from the trade union. Some inspectors stay for a day, others for 4 days, and others still come back, so that there is no time and strength left for attending to anything else than the provision of explanations and the maintenance of production.

The chairwoman stays silent. She takes the floor only after the representative of the supervising council reads a letter declaring that, in the union's opinion, the general meeting of the cooperative has once again re-elected a wily clique, and that it was illegal because people are too intimidated to speak up. Noise in the auditorium, because this is an untruth. Then she calmly states that people come to her secretly to tell her what they really think. And what is surprising in that no one wants to speak up in public?!

It is difficult to accuse the chairwoman of illwill. She wants to clarify and purge the atmosphere. But is she accomplishing this goal by inflating the most fantastic tales and shoring them up with the union's authority?

The story described above is not over, and its epilogue is still far off. An ambitious list of postulates has been posted on the union's bulletin board. Were they to be translated into reality, the union would decide on not only who would be hired and for what wages but also the statutory activities of the cooperative and the nature of its production agreements and the identity of those with whom it concludes them. What is more, as of 1 June the union wants to take full control of the allowance-and-loan fund, and as of 15 June, of the social services department. It is difficult to estimate how many persons would be needed to attend to this all. The chairwoman is appealing to union members in the cooperative to take unpaid furloughs for the purpose of helping in her activities. Posted next to this list is a copy of a letter from the union board to the cooperative chairman proposing the awarding of the PRL Council of State's Bronze Cross of Merit to one of the female employees.

But at the meeting the workforce ask whether it will be possible occasionally to buy remaindered materials from production. And what about the aprons made of natural fibers? What about protective footwear? Will towels be finally provided?

/A great ado has arisen around a little union in a small cooperative. This conflict cannot be considered typical of the situation in the trade-union movement. But perhaps might not it be characteristic of trade unions in small labor establishments where personal animosity and local problems come more to the forefront? This question will not be answered by the cooperative chairman, the supervising council of the cooperative, the party echelon, the NIK, or the procurature. The problems of a specific union should be discussed by its own members. If they have reservations about its activity, they should convene an extraordinary meeting and eventually even decide on new elections. No one else will do that for them. Statutory autonomy and independence from the management also imply responsibility for what is happening within the union. This responsibility rests not just on the union board but also on all members of the union.

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CSO: 2600/1005

PROVINCIAL BLUE-COLLAR ACTIVITIES NOTED

Workers' Aktiv Consultations Held

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 26 Apr 83 p 4

[Article by J. Kuznicki: "Worker Consultation"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] /The course of the national conference of the worker aktiv and the appeal it adopted are causing a spate of lively comments and discussions among the workforces of labor establishments./

/On 3 [April 83] we attended a meeting of the branch party organization [OOP] of the "A" shift at the Lublin Leather Industry Works [LZPS]. Below is a report on that meeting./

Place: the lounge of the LZPS on Kunickiego Street in Lublin. Time: 1350 hours. The tables are covered with press reports on the national conference of the worker aktiv, publications of the PZPR Central Committee Press, and party province and city committee bulletins.

Ryszard Bialek, first secretary of the OOP, opened the meeting by thus defining its purpose and adding that everyone should sincerely express his ideas on the anti-inflation and conservation programs while they are not yet official.

The need for economically minded thinking and action was also stressed by those who had participated in the Warsaw conference: Anna Chodon, seamstress, non-party member; and Jerzy Majewski, technician, currently first secretary of the PZPR Plant Committee.

Following a brief report on the proceedings of the Warsaw conference, stress was placed on its guiding idea as reflected in the slogan: "Initiative, conservation and honest work are the road toward economic recovery." It was stated that the pace and effectiveness of surmounting the crisis and reviving the economy will depend on the manner in which the assumptions of the Three-Year Plan and the anti-inflation and conservation programs will be implemented in factories, on construction sites, in various elements of the administration, in trade, in services—at every workstation and post.

This also is the reason why such great importance is attached to public opinion on the government's intentions. Hence too the appeal of the conference participants to society for a practical and committed discussion of jointly adopted decisions and their subsequent consistent application, implementation and enforcement.

Jerzy Majewski explains: /"In accordance with the intent of the authorities and the opinion of the participants in the national conference, the anti-inflation and conservation programs should not be regarded as yet another provisional measure. Essentially, they will initiate a major campaign purported to achieve economic stability and at the same time generate lasting systemic solutions that would effectively stimulate economical operation. A basic role in this field should be played by the party, self-government and trade-union organizations at plants. This concerns creating a climate of conservation and respect for labor, a climate eliminating rascality, neglect of duties and uneconomical work."/

The discussion, initially diffident, grows in vigor with time. The discussants complement each other, adding their "3 pennies' worth" to the ideas offered by previous speakers. Thanks to the practical nature of the comments and suggestions made, it is easier for us to assess the topics discussed and select the guiding ideas of the nearly 2-hour discussion.

Topic One: For Social Justice in Everyday Practice

Most room in the discussion was devoted to the problem of distributing the burden of the crisis, and the consequences of surmounting it, among all people and social groups according to the contribution of labor made by each.

Below are characteristic comments on this topic:

MAREK GONKOWSKI, deputy chairman of the Worker Council: /So far the cost of the crisis has been mostly borne by workers employed in state enterprises. Although they work just as hard as before, and even harder considering that the conditions of production have worsened, the employees of our plant are complaining because it is difficult for them to put ends together. Hence, the so-called inflationary overhang is to be sought within those social groups whose living conditions still remain good and which even wax fat on the difficulties being experienced by our economy./

ANNA CHODON: We have nothing against the development of private trades, commerce and services, but we object because certain representatives of that group achieve incomes incommensurate with the contribution of their labor, often through dishonest actions. Thus bringing that field of the economy into order is an urgent problem.

CZESLAW BLASZCZYK, worker at assembly department: /So far I have been making trips to a sanitarium owing to the state of my health. But once I'll have to start paying for it, I'll not go again, because I simply won't be able to afford it. In my opinion, savings should be found through a more stringent selection of applicants to sanitariums. I've observed that at least one-half of persons taking a rest cure are healthy individuals who travel to a sanitarium to amuse themselves and look for pleasurable experiences..../

RENATA GRODEK: The anti-inflation program mentions, among other things, a marked increase in personal contributions to the financing of housing construction. To young people this would mean fewer chances to obtain their own apartments. Young worker families will simply be unable to afford a higher contribution.

ZENON GRUDZIEN, footwear production chief: /To me and my co-workers the proposal to tax earnings exceeding by a factor of 1.5 the nationwide average is debatable. This tax, if applied to employees of state enterprises, will hurt the best-qualified of these employees./

/The matter also should be viewed in the context of staffing workstations that are indispensable but arduous and healthwise noxious to employees. In daily practice it often happens that a co-worker has to be relieved or one has to stay working for an additional 2 hours. Once the equalization tax is introduced, people will lose the motivation to accept extra tasks and increase their efforts./

/This tax should be applied to individuals deriving large incomes from various sources. This also raises the question of why should the incomes of so-called private entrepreneurs begin to be taxed only after 1984? I believe moreover that income taxes should be determined with allowance for income per family member which, in my opinion, would be more just./

Speaking of this topic of the discussion, it is worth citing a comment made by a worker after the meeting was over:

/"We spoke honestly of the problems bothering us. Besides, where else can we speak out than at a party meeting? But don't think that we're staying out of the implementation of the program for combatting the economic crisis. On the contrary, we shall support it through honest work. Only one thing concerns us: there should be no deviations from the socialist principle, 'To each according to his labor.'"/

The discussion was thus permeated by the concern for preventing any further decrease in the living standards of workers than is necessitated by the situation in which Poland has found itself. It was said that the point is that conditions for a more equal distribution of the cost of the crisis among the state, cooperative and private sectors should be created and consistently followed. It also ensued from the comments that the housing policy and the cost of housing construction require further discussion with the working class in the spirit of socialist social justice. The anti-inflation income tax project should be revised in the same spirit, according to workers. The decisions on this matter should be made effective simultaneously in all sectors of the economy.

The program of anti-inflation measures has, to be sure, been--because it was bound to be--somewhat controversial, but no discussant denied the need for sacrifices with the object of surmounting the crisis. Everyone also pondered what can and should be done in this respect at his own workstation.

Topic Two: Economical Operation Means Savings

The other principal topic of the discussion was broadly conceived economical management, the implementation of the conservation program at the enterprise. The discussion centered on what has been done so far and what still remains to be done in order to implement the program for improving order and discipline at the plant which had been drafted last fall by the Worker Council at the LZPS. Measures taken within the framework of the program for economical management drafted early this year by the enterprise management also were analyzed.

The prevailing opinion was that much cannot be done to increase production at the enterprise because its machinery pool is worn and operating under maximum load. To be sure, more productive technologies as regards, e.g. the hobnailing of footwear, could be applied, but this would require the acquisition of, unfortunately, machinery from payments area II [capitalist countries]--machinery that would be terribly expensive because at present no one is any longer manufacturing it. Western suppliers could build it, but only to special order. Thus there is a need for a thorough analysis of the profitability of such a transaction. The possibilities for increasing production by prolonging the operating time of existing equipment (the introduction of Saturdays off has caused footwear production to fall off by 70,000 pairs per year)--also are limited. A large part of the workforce are peasants-workers who are reluctant to work on Saturdays off--even for extra pay--for they have a lot of chores to perform on their farms. The organization of additional work within the conveyor-line system, such as operates at the footwear production department, is extremely difficult. Under such conditions, more effective management can be achieved only by improving the quality of production as well as by conserving materials. This last factor is precisely of special importance, because materials account for as much as 77 percent of the production cost.

Zenon Grudzien, the footwear production chief, said: /"It should be realized that slogans and appeals alone will not produce big savings for us. It is necessary to work out such an incentive system as would make every worker at his workstation interested in conserving raw and other materials. Other people with whom we talked stressed: /"This is worth it, because reducing the consumption of materials by just 1 percent would save the plant more than 10 million zlotys."/

Many suggestions also were made concerning energy conservation and reduction of the cost of transport and repair services as well as the development of co-production based on waste materials.

The attitudes of party members also were discussed. It was stressed that during the current economic crisis and the decline in the work morale of many communities a model attitude at production, in performing daily tasks and in the struggle for economical management is the indubitable political duty of every party member.

/Such behavior is all the more important considering that the LZPS employs many young people whose work attitudes are still in the formative stage. The nature of these attitudes will be largely decided precisely by the personal example provided by older workers, of whom 6 members of the workforce belong to the party./

Workers' Movements at Factories

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 27 Apr 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by (DSP): "At Work Establishments on the Eve of May 1: Linkage to the Traditions of the Worker Movement"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] /The preparations to celebrate the Holiday of Labor continue. This year the First of May, that holiday of the working

class, celebrated the world over, will take place in our country under slogans promoting the unity of all Poles for the good of the fatherland and struggle for world peace. We shall also turn to the traditions of the workers' struggle and labor, to the experiences of the worker movement, from which we infer conclusions in surmounting the present economic crisis./

In Bydgoszcz Province the programs for celebrating 1 May were prepared in accordance with the opinions of the workforces of labor establishments. On the First of May parades and open meetings will be held in Bydgoszcz and many other cities, to be preceded by meetings between representatives of the authorities and the workforces. Party organizations are holding meetings devoted to preparations for the Holiday of Labor and to the nature of that holiday of workers. In addition, encounters with veterans of the worker movement, war veterans, outstanding social activists and pace-setting workers are taking place.

/The principal festivity in the province will be the 1 May Parade in Bydgoszcz on Jagiellonska Street. Earlier, this coming Friday, a province and city soiree will be held, presenting specially prepared artistic entertainment. On the day of the holiday as well as on the very eve of 1 May, attractive cultural performances, festivals and sports and tourism events will be held in Bydgoszcz and many cities and gminas [parishes].

Holiday decorations already are appearing at work establishments and on the facades of public edifices, and meetings are being organized, such as the one at the Inowroclaw INOFAMA [Machinery Factory] where a plant soiree was held during which 10 employees were awarded the badges "Honored by the AGROMET-INOFAMA [Agricultural Machinery Factory]. At the Inowroclaw Chemical Works the plant committee for celebrating 1 May met with veterans of the worker movement and longtime employees. No lectures were given and the meeting was spent on listening to reminiscences of the contributions made by its participants to civic work and the activation of the plant. It was stressed that the coming holiday should demonstrate the unity of the working class and its will to preserve order in the country and peace in the world.

In Torun Province the preparations for celebrating the Holiday of Labor are occurring in an atmosphere of the creation of a favorable climate for national accord and the implementation of the goals outlined by the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth during its pre-congress campaign. These topics are the subject of party meetings at work establishments as well as of the festivities held on the eve of 1 May at, among other places, the SPOMASZ Food Industry Machinery and Equipment Factory, the "Odrodzenie" [Rebirth] Cooperative and the Inter-Urban Cable Office.

/Yesterday, already by tradition, a meeting with veterans of the worker movement from the Torun region was held. It was attended by Zenon Draminski, first secretary of the PZPR Province Committee. Various festivities are planned in Torun for today. Party cards will be handed to 30 candidate members of the PZPR, the members of the executive board of the city party echelon will meet with veterans of the worker movement and in the afternoon hours the names of persons deserving mention for their services will be inscribed in the Torun city's book of honor in the auditorium of the Province Center for Ideological Training./

The city and province First-of-May academy night will be held this coming Sunday in the auditorium of the Nicholas Copernicus University.

In Wloclawek Province the main festivities preceding the First-of-May holiday will be held this coming Friday 29 April 83. For that day a province academy night is scheduled along with the solemn bestowal of distinctions to honored working people of the region and a meeting between the executive board of the PZPR Province Committee and the veterans of the worker movement. Earlier, on 27 and 28 [April 1983], members of the province's political leadership will visit production departments at many work establishments.

/First-of-May festivities also are being held in the province's cities and gminas. They are organized by local and plant committees for celebration of the Holiday of Labor. At many enterprises and cooperatives, including the DRUMET Cable and Wire Factory, the CERAMIKA Lubus Construction Creamics Works, the AZOTY Nitrogen Works and the WLODENA Wloclawek Worker Enterprise, open party meetings have already been held. Last week certain basic party organizations [POP] and local party organizations initiated public works projects, such as the beautification of housing projects, greenery and town squares./

In addition, in Wloclawek Province, soirees also are being held in schools along with solemn scouts' rallies and encounters of youth with veterans of the worker movement.

Wroclaw Authorities-Workers Meetings

Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 29 Apr 83 p 4

[Article by H.: "Debate on the Province's Future: Another Meeting Between Wroclaw Authorities and Workers"]

[Text] Yesterday the edifice of the Wroclaw Province PZPR Committee was the site of another conference between representatives of the province's party and administrative authorities and workers from nine large chemical and light industry plants: the Olawa ERG Plastic Products Works, the OTIS [expansion unknown], the INTERMODA Garment Factory, the POLIFARB Dyestuffs Factory, the ODRA [expansion unknown], the POLLENA [expansion unknown], the CHEMITEX Synthetic Fibers Industry Works, the WELTEX Textile Factory and the Brzeg Dolny ROKITA [expansion unknown].

More women than usual were present, while the other participants in the conference--foremen, brigade leaders, workers--included both party and non-party members.

Marian Mazur, secretary of the Wroclaw Province PZPR Committee, who chaired the meeting and, together with deputy governor Ryszard Rafajlowicz, represented the Wroclaw authorities, encouraged the discussion, stressing that all suggestions would be considered even though their immediate follow-up could not be promised.

In his extensive speech, secretary M. Mazur also presented the socio-economic situation in the province and discussed production results for the first quarter of this year, on drawing attention to the importance of the government anti-inflation and conservation programs. He also discussed positive phenomena in the social life of Wroclaw, including the improvements in the supplies of baked goods, water and heat.

There were 19 participants in the discussion, some of them repeatedly, mostly from the WELTEX and the ROKITA plants; but comments from the INTERMODA, the CHEMITEX and the OTIS also were not lacking.

Mention was made of, among other things, the need for more stable workforces, social services, public health and environmental protection. Problems of streamlining employment and a sharper treatment of loafers were touched upon. It was reported that small-scale innovations in chemical industry are financially unprofitable even though they may yield large profits later. There is no one to repair old construction plants and old housing. Administrative staff is over-inflated (mention was especially made of the so-called chief experts). The discussion touched upon ways and means of working out a wage system that could prevent the currently high turnover of valued employees and their enticement by private competitors in industry.

Concern was expressed about the city's future and proper expansion, and shortcomings evident in its communal and housing management, etc. were mentioned. A special problem, repeatedly raised at the conference, was the prospects for housing construction in Brzeg Dolny. The pertinent proposals were meticulously recorded.

Dozens of questions were recorded. Most were answered. The answers were provided by deputy governor R. Rafajlowicz and secretary M. Mazur. Some of the problems raised turned out to be solvable on the spot. Hence part of the participants in yesterday's meeting were invited by the representatives of the authorities to remain in the auditorium following the meeting. The representatives of the authorities also came to an agreement with employees of the CHEMITEX and ROKITA about meeting again in the near future with the object of a definitive settlement of the problems raised by the representatives of these plants at the meeting.

One participant told this reporter: "The meeting turned out to be greatly needed. It enabled the authorities to view the world through our eyes, but it also demonstrated to us the complexity of decisionmaking and the difficulties encountered by the authorities in the current complicated situation."

Interview with Opole Province Worker

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 30 Apr-1 May 83 pp 1,3

[Interview with Zb. Motykiewicz by Bernard Walenski: "It's Not Easy But....:An Hour's Interview With Worker Zb. Motykiewicz"]

[Text] [Question] I congratulate you now that your name has been inscribed in the "Book of Persons Honored by Opole Province."

[Answer] Thank you, but I must admit I'm embarrassed by this distinction. I think that in Opole Province there are people who deserve it more than I. Besides, I believe that it honors not just me but our entire workforce and the city. But it's not possible to inscribe all their names. The choice fell on me. Thus, I'm a symbol, as it were.

[Question] Comrade, how do you feel as a symbol?

[Answer] That's hard to define unambiguously. I'm surprised and worried, but also content and primarily bound to the future. For it wouldn't look nice if the 'symbol' turned out to be different from what it's considered to be.

[Question] We barely started talking and already arrived at the subject of work.

[Answer] I think that all the time we've been talking of work.

[Question] In a sense, yes. So then, what about work. Are working conditions worse or better than a year ago?

[Answer] I've been working at BLACHOWNIA [Chemical Works] for 19 years, which I feel to be a long enough period for evaluating the plant, and long enough to confirm that one can work long there. For one doesn't work long where conditions are bad. I've wonderful co-workers. One can come to an understanding with them, and the conditions are really good. I've been an eyewitness of changes in the plant, for when I first came here it still had been largely devastated by the war. Many investments were made, internal roads were improved, and esthetic appearance has changed--to the better, of course, and social services also have been steadily improving. Wages also have been rising....

[Question] I listen, jot down and am amazed. Everywhere complaints are being made but you praise everything, just as if we had been talking 5 years ago.

[Answer] One can always complain, regardless of whether things are good or bad. But what do I have to complain about?

[Question] You really have no complaints?

[Answer] Let's begin with the fundamental matter--work. We never for a moment lack work. We've a maximum workload. But as for material supplies, that's another thing. There are difficulties. Both the supply service and we waste a great deal of time on locating various things, but whatever we need is ultimately always found, so that work doesn't have to be interrupted.

[Question] There is a shortage of work clothing....

[Answer] Some kinds, such as rubber-felt footwear or acid-resistant uniforms are indeed in short supply, but there already are more of them now and if in addition a person knows how to save he doesn't have to wall around in tatters. Of course, there are departments and workstations at which consumption is higher and shortages may arise, but at our plant this problem doesn't affect production. Besides, the situation with clothing has necessitated its more economical use. As for other matters, the so-called interpersonal relations, they are, as I said, in very good shape.

[Question] What about wages? They are never too high.

[Answer] Chemical industry used to be the second or third most important industry. Now its rank has dropped. We're ranked below not only mining but also many other subsectors. But what should be done? Should the miners be deprived, in our favor, considering that Poland now depends on their work? The average [monthly] wage at our plants is nearly 10,000 zlotys. This is not much, and it

would have been better if we had been earning more, but still things are not at their worst either.

[Question] Does the principle "to each according to his labor" operate at the BLACHOWNIA?

[Answer] The first swallow arrived last summer when the wage rate table was revised to reward more than previously occupational skill, industriousness, diligence and manner of organization of labor. Perhaps the rates still are not completely fair everywhere, but some workers have gained even as much as 1,500 zlotys monthly extra from these revisions and others barely 200. Thus this was the first step in the direction of the anticipated incentive wage system.

[Question] In your opinion, what should be the maximum difference in pay between the worker and the plant director?

[Answer] I had been a foreman for 5 years and during that time I earned less than some of my subordinates. This is not a question of jealousy, but the situation seemed stupid to me, because how can it be that a person has a big responsibility which is not reflected in his pay. Hence I think that pay should rise with responsibility, assuming that only responsible posts go only to the best persons. Besides, I'm solely concerned about base pay, because a worker who toils for hours, and under dangerous conditions at that, must be paid well and may even be paid better than his supervisor who does not receive such pay allowances. And the difference? Of a certainty, a director should not be paid five or six times as much as a worker, as it happening at some enterprises.

[Question] Comrade, you have two growing daughters. This takes money.

[Answer] A lot even. It's not easy, but I don't have to ask for welfare help or benefit from foreign gifts.

[Question] You must deny yourself a lot.

[Answer] I bought an old Syrena car. So I got something to ride around in and sometimes even travel with my family in. But one would like to see more of the world. For the time being, this just what one has to deny oneself.

[Question] Are your daughters thinking of higher education?

[Answer] There is still some time left to decide on these matters. To me, the most important thing is that my daughters choose vocations which will satisfy them. If this will require further studies, I and my wife will do everything to make them possible.

[Question] What is the situation in the BLACHOWNIA on the eve of 1 May?

[Answer] I believe that the climate is better than a year ago. Spontaneity in First-of-May parades is not to be expected, because after all the country's economic situation makes life difficult for us, but when one looks around one can perceive an improvement already. To be sure this does not suit everybody, but why should we be upset over this.

[Question] Comrade, will you join the parade?

[Answer] Of course.

[Question] Why?

[Answer] If there were no workers in the parade, who would march in it?

[Question] Will your entire brigade march?

[Answer] I can't guarantee this, because everyone decides for himself, but I believe that all of us will meet.

[Question] Let us return to the starting topic, to the inscription of your name in that book, to what you, comrade, stated about the obligation to the future. Your party work was not the principal reason why you were honored, though it also counted. Can your party work be still further improved?

[Answer] Everything can and should be improved. So far as I'm concerned, I think such improvements should be linked to a general streamlining of the organization. Everyone is a gear in the larger machinery whose running depends to a large degree on him. Of course, like everyone else, I have my moments of weakness, for various reasons besides. But to answer your question, one has to attempt to reduce these weak moments to a minimum. My friends say: 'Motykiewicz, you're making a career. You've become a star.' But I prefer to be a 15-watt but durable bulb than a star which will flash once and then cease glowing.

[Question] This isn't a common desire. There are many people who don't glow at all.

[Answer] I'm not strong in economics but I think that the reform will force such people to work. If I had in my brigade a person who would always take the easier way out, I would unceremoniously try to get rid of him. We must once and for all stop tolerating individuals for whom others toil.

[Question] Could that be a wish for the Holiday of Labor?

[Answer] Honest workers, who after all exist in a huge majority, would surely welcome this wish.

PHOTO CAPTION

Zbigniew Motykiewicz, 44 years old fitter-welder, brigade leader at the machine shop of the synthesis plant of the BLACHOWNIA Chemical Works, in which he has been working since 1964. Party member for 21 years. Member of the executive board of the branch party organization [OOP] and of the plant party committee and chairman of the Kedzierzyn-Koziel City PZPR Auditing Commission. Married, with two daughters.

Mieczyslaw Krajewski on Workers' Matters, Socialism

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 31 Apr-1 May 83 pp 1, 5

[Article by Dr Mieczyslaw Krajewski, Interpress: "Maturing for the Exercise of Power: The Worker Issue Under Socialism"]

[Text] /The other--next to the protection of worker interests--dimension of the worker question under socialism assumes a different form than under capitalism. Let us recall that under capitalism this concerns the struggle for power, for creating a workers' state. This struggle is associated with the entire history of the maturing of the working class and its political forces toward the role of the nation's leader in its struggle against the capitalist oligarchy. Here, questions of alliance with the peasantry also are concerned, particularly in the backward societies. Under socialism this dimension of the worker question assumes the form of struggle to consolidate the class rule of workers./ [printed in boldface]

This process is no less complicated than growth toward the stage of the victorious revolution. This is a question of maturation of the working class and its alliances toward coping with the possibility of a continuing and effective pursuit of its interest, of reaching maturity in the action and functioning of the political and leading forces of society and state. Gradually and upon undergoing sometimes difficult and bitter experiences, the working class is maturing into a class equal to the exercise of rule.

The working class, unlike all the previous ruling classes, is not and cannot be relieved of its production tasks and can attend neither exclusively nor even primarily to policy, ruling, governing or administration. Thus its sovereignty as the ruling class has to be exercised in a manner different from that practiced by, e.g. the bourgeoisie. The problem of the sovereign rule of the working class is resolved in many planes:

--first, there is the matter of self-organization of the class as the world of work. This concerns chiefly trade unions, worker self-government and the entire system of social movements such as, e.g. the labor rationalizing movement, the invention movement or intellectual movements such as the movement of writing workers, etc. This is how organized opinion arises--the expression of the class's will. It is always linked to, on the one hand, the nature of labor (early industry-manufacturing, industry and big industry, and highly industrialized--scientific and technical parts of the working class), along with culture of labor and the general socio-occupational and moral condition of discrete sections of the working class, on the one hand, and the state of consciousness, i.e. the degree of political and ideological maturity of the class, of its principal detachments, on the other;

--secondly, this concerns the condition and deliberate creation of a politically and ideologically literate intellectual elite of the working class that deliberately masters knowledge about the laws of development and social processes. It guarantees the correct process of ideological-political self-organization of the class and, above all, equal-partner relations with the humanist intelligentsia and the managerial production personnel;

--thirdly, the sovereignty of the class rule of workers ensues from the degree and nature of the fusion of the real worker movement with Marxism-Leninism, both as an ideology and as a theory of development. The thus conceived state of the party decisively determines the political sovereignty of the working class. Inasmuch as the party precisely represents the fusion of the working-class movement with revolutionary theory, to that extent the working class is the

sovereign center of political power. For the party defines and regulates the complex whole of the political conditions outside the working class, both with respect to other classes and strata and with respect to other nations;

--fourthly, this concerns the state of the alliances concluded by the working class through its organized social, cultural and political forces with the political and social forces of the peasantry and other strata of petty and middle-level private owners as well as of mental workers and the intelligentsia in the traditional--political--meaning of that word;

--and fifth, this concerns, finally, the shape and manner of organization of the state as an institutional-political and social-economic reflection of the class rule of workers. It matters, in this connection, whether this is a people's state or a workers' state. It also matters whether in a people's state it is the workers who are the real leaders or whether their leadership is exercised "by proxy" by other strata of people's classes. The manner in which the sovereignty of the working class is distributed among the aforementioned places of sovereignty--organizations of the working class--also is not irrelevant. For the political-social system is in a state of constant change, and thus the point is that institutional solutions should not lag too much behind real processes.

We shall see to what extent the working class, and hence also the individual, is determined by the present-day nature of production forces. I am convinced that society is determined in a threefold manner by production forces. First, even now it is untrue that workers get time off for activities in spheres other than production. However, a shift in the dimension of the efforts directed toward making labor more creative is evident within the working class. Even if we consider the overall production effort of the working class, construed as the creation of qualifications and the process of productive labor, time spent on production, when so conceived, grows longer instead of shorter. Thus, we still have not reached a stage of development in which the working class would be relieved substantially, let us say, for governing, attending to culture, etc. Eighty percent of the time of the working class still is linked to the creation of the foundations for the material existence of the nation. The creation of the material process of national existence is--secondly--evolving in a situation of duress. The so-called system of division of labor still is of an explicitly technological and external--toward workers--nature. No matter how much we may speak of self-governments, they just are not the places for discussing production technologies and the technological division of labor. Besides, the entire technological knowledge or, so to speak, the knowledge of experts, cannot be summed up on the principles of self-government. Awareness of production may be the common property of the working class, but technological, integral, and economic knowledge of production is the "property" of a small group of individuals. It has to be concluded from these facts that the organization of the working class at present occurs chiefly in spheres other than production, that is in, as it were, non-technological spheres.

And lastly, third, it is necessary to determine the extent to which the worker, in creating the material conditions of production, not only uses up his working strength but also is used up as a human being, biologically. I refer here to both his physical health and the crippling of his personality. The "consumption" or "depreciation" of workers should be regarded as the social cost of production. For the present, this factor is not considered even under socialism; so far we have been applying solely economic cost analysis, without social cost analysis:

the results and cost of production are considered only in material-financial terms.

I believe that this is related to if not the entire then a substantial part of the socio-political limitations of socialism. Were we aware also of the fact that the worker essentially does not control the disposal and distribution of material boons to the extent ensuing in theory from the fact that he is acknowledged to be the co-owner of means of production, we would perceive that socialism represents a community developing on its own basis. It can be said that the worker controls the process of production only politically or by means of the pace of his work, inclusive of strikes. Such are the elements that remain accessible to the worker in his capacity as the one who activates the material conditions of production. As for the distribution of material boons, workers shape it solely by political means, that is, through the mediation of trade unions, the party and the state.

It seems to me that--in connection with what has been said above--the question of the role of the ideological factor has to be considered not as a corpus of principles but as a theory of the existence of the working class and the nation. Accordingly, the actual picture of the position of the working class, which already holds political power but is not yet fully reigning, is tremendously important. The ideological factor should--in my opinion--be construed as an instrument whereby the working class wants to change its position and construct a theory of its destiny. As for science, it should assist that class in it. This is how I have always interpreted the unity of the ideological and scientific factors in Marx.

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PROVINCIAL TRADE UNION DEVELOPMENTS NOTED

Consultations With Trade Unions

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 2 Mar 83 pp 1, 2

[Text] The trade unions are entitled to express their opinions on problems of social and economic life, and especially those relating directly to the workers. This is one of the basic prerequisites for proper functioning of the system of socialist democracy. The new law on trade unions sets forth clearly and in detail the right of a union to express its opinion on the criteria or drafts of legal acts and decisions relating to the rights and interests of workers and their families. Exercise of this right is guaranteed to the unions at all levels, from the factory up to the main administrative organs.

This year will be a period in which it will be necessary to make many essential decisions doomed to be unpopular. This is predetermined by the continuing difficult economic situation and the necessity of creating better conditions for operation of the reform mechanisms, without which there will be no prospects for ultimate return of the country to normal. Such is not possible under the model of a tutelar state which has prevailed up to the present. At the same time, however, the areas of want are becoming larger and the psychological resistance of society to the difficulties of the period of crisis is wearing down. Hence the need for applying a very carefully considered social and economic policy and making decisions which do not turn out to harm the weakest. Selection of the best of various alternative solutions, one judiciously linking capabilities to needs, necessitates listening to the voice of public opinion, and above all to representatives of the working class.

At the present time, however, we have more than 6,000 trade unions, whose activities are confined to the factory level. For organizational and technical reasons alone, consultation with a number of partners this large will be a difficult accomplishment this year, until the union structures above the factory level are established. The government has nevertheless resolutely declared itself to be in favor of consultation with the trade unions in 1983, not just in problems affecting the individual factory and the branch of industry, but in the matter of proposed decisions of importance to the life of society as a whole. The Social and Political Committee of the Council of Ministers is now working on a proposed system of such consultations.

It is recognized that one subject of the consultations is that of legal acts so early as the stage of establishment of their criteria, this necessitating allowance for the necessary period of consultations with the unions in the system of preparation of governmental and departmental documents relating to the policy of wages, social services, and living and working conditions. The consultation must be authentic, not merely formal, and must guarantee the actual presence of union members and their active participation in the preparation of decisions; this will determine the suitability of the solutions, the reception accorded the solutions by society, and--an aspect not without importance--the position and authority of the new trade unions.

On the other hand, however, in a crisis situation demanding prompt and effective action, the process of consultation with the trade unions must not retard the process of making essential decisions. Resolution of this dilemma of long standing between efficiency and democracy will be a highly complicated problem.

The projected system of consultations has the aim of securing the broadest and most representative possible opinions of union members; it must not be confined merely to transmission of the viewpoints of the members of their organizations, but must rather extend to ascertainment of the opinions of all personnel of an organization. It is obviously difficult to conduct consultations with several thousand unions; it will probably be necessary to select a group of consultants for each occasion. This also harbors a danger, however, that of differences between union members in individual union milieus.

Another very difficult problem will be that of selection among the diverse and often conflicting views of union members. The opinion of Polish society as a whole is divided today as it has never been in the past, something which is confirmed by a variety of surveys and earlier discussions, at least on the problems of prices and wages. Hence, it is to be expected that it will not be possible to harmonize viewpoints on many questions and will be necessary to select the views advanced by the majority of the working class, ones which at the same time take the long term as well as the temporary interests of the workers into account.

Many dilemmas remain to be resolved in the work on the range and process of consultation with the trade unions. The practical application of this system will not make life easy for the authorities, but ultimately will benefit both partners, working to the advantage both of society and of the state.

Problems of New Trade Unions

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 1 Apr 83 pp 1, 4

[Article by (jak)]

[Text] Many vital problems faced daily by the new union organizations in plants and factories often come under the jurisdiction of the local administrative authorities. In the future as well it will be difficult

to conceive of the adoption of administrative decisions concerning workers without consultation with union members regarding the decisions.

To meet the need for daily cooperation and consultation in problems in which weighty decisions are to be made, Henryk Ricek, head of the voivodship government, and members of the UW [Voivodship Office] yesterday met with a group of 89 chairmen of factory organizations situated in the territory of the voivodship. Ficek opened the working meeting by announcing that on 31 March he had established a special three-member unit for cooperation with trade unions.

The head of this unit, Deputy Governor Marek Szlezak then presented to the union members extensive information on the social and economic situation in the region. He informed them, for example, that initiative groups, founders' committees, or registered union organizations are active in the 593 factories and institutions in the voivodship. As of 21 March 1983, 211 applications for registration had been filed with the Voivodship Court in Rzeszow, and 205 of them had been approved. General meetings have already been held in 58 union organizations; at these meetings the officials specified by the bylaws have been elected and normal scheduled activities have begun.

During the discussion, the Rzeszow union members presented information on the problems which they have to resolve in their work. Many persons repeatedly advanced recommendations regarding the need for revising the current system of supplying personnel with protective clothing, raw materials, industrial articles, and food items. Discussion was also devoted to the need for energetic action against the socially pathological phenomena of speculation, waste, absenteeism, and drunkenness.

Attention was also called to the fact that cooperation between the local administrative authorities and the union organizations is very difficult today because of the great number of these organizations. The union members made two specific proposals in this connection. The first proposal was that consultation on individual problems be conducted in industrial branch groups and that they be conducted in two stages (the individual unions of one branch first establish their viewpoint, and their common representatives then coordinate it with the administrative authorities), and the second that the UW prepare on its behalf, and the union members on their behalf, recommended topics with in the opinion of both sides require mutual consultation. As was pointed out by H. Ficek, the UW will make its recommendations by 30 April 1983.

At the end of the meeting, directors of the departments of the UW replied to specific questions asked by the union members. In addition, it was established that similar working consultative meetings will be held once every 3 months.

We point out for the information of union members that the unit for cooperation with trade unions established by the 31 March decision has its office in room 47 of the UW building; the unit's telephone number is 339-74.

Building Up Trade Union Movement

Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 14 Apr 83 p 3

[Article by K. Spsychalski]

[Text] People did not agitate vigorously at the ZPDz [Femina Knitwear Goods Plant]. They did not march around the buildings carrying signs. On that day when the law on trade unions was announced they first went to the manager. Their message was brief: they wanted to establish a new union. Declarations were distributed to the foremen in the departments; whoever wanted to could fill out one and join those wanting to establish the union. In the course of the week 50 persons applied; this was the beginning.

The chairman of the Independent Autonomous Trade Union of Workers at the ZPDz Femina, Zdzislaw Koziorowski, joins in this discussion only with reluctance. "What is there to talk about? After all, the most important thing is action, concrete action such as this. This is what convinces people, not idle talk," are his first words. "In the end, people began to be persuaded to join the union thanks precisely to the concrete steps taken by the union organization. What if some people still remain distrustful? There is nothing anyone can say to change that."

The union was registered on 21 December 1982. At that time, it had 160 members; it now has more than 450. This is not an impressive number in comparison to the number of persons working at the plant, but the fact remains that at last a start has been made. The first matter came up for consideration by the 10 workers in the unions immediately after registration. It was apparently a typical affair, a question of money, but as it later turned out was also one of more effective organization of the production process. Two people had left their brigade. At first the management intended to hire new workers. The remaining workers affected frankly told the union leader, "We will do more, including the work of the two who left; just divide the money for the two jobs among us." The matter was promptly settled. Several hours later, the workers who had spoken up brought in union pledge forms.

There have been several more matters relating to everyday life in the plant which have been resolved. No one in the union makes a record of them. Why worry oneself with pieces of paper? The important thing is that people see the results. Different people, young and old, come to the organization, and, as the union leader says, it does not matter whether or not a person belongs to the union. What counts is the problem. In a group of young workers of the plant who recently applied for help there was only one union member, but the matter was not merely shelved on this account. The matter related to a suggestion by the management that the youth production unit at the plant be abolished. A group of 13 students of a vocational school has been working at the Femina for one and one-half years on a production line. They have one and one-half years remaining to complete vocational school. By working together they can give each other practical help in learning their

trade. The plant management recently found, however, that there were too few positions in the production shop where the young people work, so that they have to be reassigned to different brigades.

"If everything was in order in the past," asks Koziorowski, "why do we have to change? The plant youth organization took an interest in the matter. Together we checked the labor productivity of the young team, and found that it is no worse than elsewhere. I think that if the management wants to abandon this method of training young people in the future, the ones who are already here should be left here. What sense would there be in turning workers against the management at the very beginning of their professional careers? I believe that this can be worked out. One thing I do ask you to do is to write that at the outset we promise nothing to anyone, in this or in other matters; why play with words? If we succeed in settling a matter, the result will mean more than mere promises."

The union members at the Femina are acting in concert, for as they say they have not come here to create jobs but to unite their efforts to help people. One of the first organizational measures was establishment of the union Social Welfare Commission. The commission soon created a housing section. The problem of housing for the personnel of the plant is one of the most critical ones. The housing section, in which former Femina employees with time available serve, makes a great number of local inspections and thoroughly studies all the steps being taken. Union activists then meet with the pertinent administrative authorities and try to get the matter past the hurdle of official scrutiny.

This has succeeded on more than one occasion. In Kolumna, for example, a Femina employee recently found several empty apartments. Union members submitted a list of them to the manager. He promised to help, and entered the name of the woman concerned in more than 60 places in the list kept in the office. I heard it said at the Femina that "this concept of cooperation with the new unions, this assistance by the administration, is a real shattering of precedent." Whatever it may be called, Koziorowski will have occasion to talk with the authorities in Kolumna, simply, clearly, briefly, concretely.

Many problems remain to be solved. The union members are also familiar with questions relating to organization of work and the results of production, since they also ultimately concern the personnel, among other things through wages, just as also do problems of rest for the persons working at the plant. Recently, Koziorowski and union representatives of other Lodz plants discussed precisely these questions with authorities in the appropriate section of the Municipal Office. Although it concerned matters of rest and recreation, the discussion was not at all conducted in a relaxed manner. Nothing could be resolved in this way. "To be a union means working for others, to talk to whomever it is necessary to talk to clearly and sometimes categorically and to come out with something concrete for the people," were his last words to me at the Femina.

Information Concerning New Trade Unions

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 15 Apr 83 pp 1, 3

[Article by (chod): "News, Information, Interpretations"]

[Text] Many problems, doubts, and uncertainties are arising in organization of the new trade unions. Sometimes they are due to varying interpretation of the legal acts in force governing the new movement. What is sometimes involved is simply lack of knowledge of these acts, itself in turn the consequence of the fact that the laws and regulations do not always reach the parties concerned in time and are not always readily available. At any rate, there is need for fuller knowledge in this sphere among the organizer and activists of the new trade unions. Hence, the information we give today may in the initial period be of use to the union organizations.

Definitions

Since the definition of a plant (at which a union may be established) continues to create ambiguity, we will point out that a plant as defined by the Labor Code is what is meant. Thus a plant is an organizational unit which employs workers, even if it is not a legal person [corporation]. In particular, a plant is a state enterprise, an office or other state unit, or a cooperative or social organization.

Several Plants--One Union

In view of the fact that a founders' committee must number at least 10 persons, in some areas it is doubtful whether trade unions can be established in small plants (as for example handicraft shops) employing only a few persons. As is explained by the legal unit of the Social Consultative Commission, in such a situation, the workers of several, even 10 or more, such small plants may form one common trade union, under the appropriate social and professional or economic authority (such as the Chamber of Crafts).

Process and Range of Consultation

It should be pointed out that Section 74 of the MONITOR POLSKI, Number 12 for 1983, published the text of the resolution of the Council of Ministers in the matter of consultation with the trade unions. This resolution obliges the state administrative authorities to solicit the opinion of the unions in matters relating to the criteria for or drafts of legal acts concerning the rights and interests of workers in such areas as working and wage conditions and social welfare and cultural conditions. The current legal situation prevailing in a given area must be represented in these criteria or drafts; the latter must also contain substantiation of the new solution and must indicate the directions of the projected changes, as well as their social and financial effects. The procedure for these consultations is also specified in the resolution; it involves among other

things publication of the particular criteria or draft by the mass communication media, and also allowance of a period of one month for reception of comments and recommendations forwarded by the trade unions in a given matter to the main or central state administrative authority. The ministers or heads of central offices must then organize consultative meetings with representatives of the trade unions, including oens which have advahced conflicting proposals, and publicize the results of the consultation and justify the decision made. We give here only the highlights of the resolution. The complete text is to be found in the issue of the MONITOR cited earlier.

Answers, Explanations, Training

The information and consultation unit for trade unions affairs established by the presidium of the Voivodship People's Council in Opole provides answers to all doubts and questions in matters relating to the new union movement. It can be reached daily by telephone, from 0730 to 1500 hours, at 328-63. This Unit also accepts applications by candidates for five days of union training (at the center in Chorzow). A union organization may file an application for three persons to attend such a course, from among the elected member officials.

Trade Unions in Gdansk Higher Schools

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 18 Apr 83 p 3

[Article by Zbingniew Niemcewicz]

[Text] The Polish Teachers' Union at the Gdansk Institute of Technology has been registered by decision of the Gdansk Voivodship Court of 18 January 1983. The reception accorded this event varied in the area. We will point out immediately that around 70 persons have joined the union thus far, while this educational institution employes more than 3,000 persons. Admittedly, nowhere is an enthusiastic wholesale rush to join the new trade unions to be observed, so that there are no particular reasons for lamentation in this case. The fact that conscious and purposeful efforts are being applied to create an unfavorable atmosphere about the union is a different matter altogether.

A leaflet signed by "students of the Tri-City area" made its appearance several months ago. In this leaflet the members of the founder's committee of the trade union at the University of Gdansk are called "Twentieth Century Targowicians." Other epithets derogatory to the union members were applied in the same leaflet. A lampoon on the union in the Institute of Technology appeared not long afterward in another illegal publication, in which the activists of the union are also named and classified as collaborators. I think that no comment is needed. It is hardly any wonder that in the atmosphere of psychological terror some people state outright that they are afraid to join the union.

Attacks on the union do not always assume such a brutal form. They are sometimes more elegant in character, as for instance the declaration drawn up by a group of workers of one of the departments of the Gdansk Institute of Technology. It read as follows:

"Acknowledging the necessity of complying with the resolutions of Article 2 of International Labor Organization Convention Number 87 and with Article 1 of the law on trade unions of 8 October 1982 on the right to form and unite in trade unions, we respect the choice of our colleagues who have formed the Polish Teachers' Union at the Gdansk Institute of Technology.

"We must express our astonishment that the recently established union has begun its activities by disregarding the fundamental requirements of information. Up to the present the bylaws, program of action, and even the fact of creation of the union have remained unknown to the workers of the Gdansk Institute of Technology as a whole.

"The trade union law of 8 October 1982 allows of the possibility of future establishment of more than one union organization in one plant, and grants the same rights to all organizations. We believe that, in view of this possibility, a situation should not be created in which a union which is the first (and temporarily the only one) to be established can claim the right to assume the role of sole representative of the workers and thus produce certain faits accomplis, leaving to unions established later only the possibility of adapting itself to the arrangements already in existence.

"We believe that the recently established Polish Teachers' Union at the Gdansk Institute of Technology, with such a sma-1 number of members, has no moral right to formal entry into possession of the assets left by the basic union organizations in existence up to 13 December 1981, the NSZZ Solidarity Plant Commission, and the ZNP [Polish Teachers' Union] Plant Council. These assets were created by the members of these two organizations, and only these members should be entitled to decide on their fate.

"We hereby declare that we do not agree to appearance of the Polish Teachers' Union at the Gdansk Institute of Technology in the role of representative of the interests of the Gdansk Institute of Technology. According to the law of 8 October 1982 already referred to, a union has the right to represent only the interests of its own members in relations with employers and authorities."

Let us consider these charges in turn.

It follows from the declaration that the union allegedly was established in a conspiracy to the detriment of the workers on the institute. The reality is otherwise. A communique announcing that a founders' groups was forming was issued at the beginning of December. Daily tours of duty were instituted at the Workers' Club of the Gdansk Institute of Technology. Anyone who so desired could come there and express his opinions on the subject of the future organizational form and program of action of the new

union organization. Work on the bylaws lasted three weeks, until the version of the post-August version of the bylaws of the former ZNP adapted to the needs of the institute were adopted after discussion. Any interested person can come to Room 202 of the main building or to the Workers' Club daily between 1400 and 1500 hours, where he can familiarize himself with the bylaws, program, and other documents.

In the matter of assets the position of the union is the following: Solidarity left 900,000 zlotys and ZNP 600,000 zlotys. One-half of the 600,000 zlotys left by the former Polish Teachers' Union are on deposit in a savings and loan association. The other 300,000 zlotys are on deposit in a bank account.

According to regulations in force, the union is entitled to take possession of the assets of both former unions, but in order not to fan the flames of hostility the money of the former Solidarity union has not been touched. Its activists are of the opinion that it would be better to transfer this money in the form of a deposit to the savings and loan association. This is, after all, a worker savings and loan association serving the interests of all. Hence it would be more sensible for the workers to use the union money in this way than to have it continue to lie frozen in an account.

As is to be seen, the objections levelled at the union as contained in the declaration in question are a trifle demagogic.

But what is the source of this animosity?

Leaving aside the attacks made in various handbills and illegal circulars, which give expression to a decidedly hostile attitude, this animosity, or rather reserve, has several sources. Some people imagine that it will be possible to activate something on the order of Solidarity, and some are convinced that Christian trade unions can come into being after the pope's visit. These are fantasies having no basis in reality.

More common, perhaps the most common, is the attitude expressed in the following terms by one of the workers of the institute: "First I belonged to the AMP, which was dissolved. Then I belonged to the Polish Students' Association, which was also dissolved. I then became a member of the Polish Teachers' Union, and it too was abolished. I am fed up with this game and now I do not want to belong to any union."

In the beginning, the union is not setting major tasks for itself. It is engaging in concrete action, chiefly for the purpose of defending workers' rights. One of the most important actions is struggle for materialization of the Teachers' Charter. For this purpose agreement has been reached with other teachers' unions and a consultative group has been formed which, among other things, is to formulate a position in the matter of the charter.

Immediately following the general election meeting, the union intends to submit a recommendation to the Council of State that several workers and students convicted after the events of 13 December be released. Consideration of the matter of additional pay for a full term of service has been advanced in time, and a number of other relating to claims for workers' rights are being taken up.

Are these actions malicious? The union obviously has no ambition to represent the workers of the institute as a whole and does not intend to force people to join it. But it is trying to act in the general interest, without engaging in large-scale politicking. The people who have undertaken this work are doing it in common, without taking a penny, and do not expect to be awarded any prerogatives for their work.

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PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Professor Tadeusz Porebski Speaks Out

Warsaw EXPRESS WIECZORNY in Polish 13-14-15 May 83 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Tadeusz Porebski, Politburo member, first secretary of Wroclaw PZPR Provincial Committee: "I Will Accept Nothing On Blind Faith"]

[Text] [Question] Professor, when KULISOM interviewed you in autumn of 1979, three and a half years ago, you were the rector of the Wroclaw Institute of Technology and a member of the scientific advisory team to the first secretary of the party's Central Committee [CC]. But in the spring of 1980, your name was no longer mentioned as an advisor to Edward Gierek. What happened between autumn 1979 and spring 1980? You are not going to say that your advise was no longer needed, are you?

[Answer] I cannot answer that question and I will say that I was not really that interested in the reason. We rotated on the team every 2 and 3 years; otherwise, there was nothing really specific. I remember that in the spring of 1980, several advisors were dropped and that afterwards, the team was dissolved.

[Question] How do you remember your activity as an advisor?

[Answer] The main reason the team was appointed in 1979 was to study those reports which touched upon specific problems. The most important report, the one which evaluated the state of the country and economy, was published after 1980 in the columns of at least 2 newspapers. I think that we can endorse this evaluation even today; this means, that the report was critical. Within the team's areas of interest, my area dealt with investment problems and scientific-technological problems. As far as investments are concerned, we passed on and then prevailing opinion that we are investing too much, that the time for certain undertakings was going on too long, that we were putting too little effort in modernizing our existing holdings. As is known, this did not lead to changes in our investment policies. If we are talking about science and technology, then the end of the 1970s saw reductions in the outlays for these fields. Governmental attempts went far beyond the limits of sensible economization; funds were even cut for the purchase of national equipment. The main battle was on for the defense of certain scientific material positions. I think that without this defense, these cuts would have gone even farther.

The weakness of the scientific advisory team was that we worked more or less alone, without extensive conceptual backing.

Besides, we realized after a while that the team's influence was minimal, that we do not have an impact on the solution of specific problems or on the behavior of the authorities. However, it was the team which demanded inter alia economic reforms and delineated their directions. At the same time, hardly the fragments of several studies would find their way into any plenum report or resolution.

[Question] After August 1980 you became the first secretary of the Wroclaw party provincial committee. During the reports and elections campaign before the 9th Extraordinary Congress, you did not intend to be a candidate for the position; you did not even want to be a delegate to the provincial conference. It is rumored that the conference forced you, despite the order of debates, to become the provincial committee's first secretary and then to go to the 9th Congress as a delegate. Was that the way it was? Did doubts accompany you on the way to the Politburo as far as your own party activity in leadership positions is concerned?

[Answer] In fact, the rules of the Wroclaw reports and elections conference before the 9th Congress stipulated that the election of both provincial committee members as well as of the delegates to the congress take place exclusively among the delegates to the conference. An exception was made, not only for me, but for two other comrades as well. Arguments made by some of the delegates convinced the others that such a solution would be proper. Besides, this did not contradict party statutes; nationally, such situations took place all the time.

Now, concerning my own hesitation at the time to be a candidate or not: Well, I crossed over to party work from my job at the university level. This job had been rather systematic and I basically enjoyed this. I value a relatively ordered situation and do not care for extreme improvisations; I do not fare well under conditions of impulsive processes. All of this took place gradually from October 1980 until June 1981. Beyond this, I know that there is always a position where one wants to exercise authority for society or for people. The exercise of authority for its own sake gives me personally no satisfaction; in fact, and I will be candid, it does not even interest me. At the same time, it was difficult to have the belief in this ever-changing situation, in which we were living, that a party conference could entrust the comrades, including eventually me, with this authority to make use of it in a sensible way. Besides, in accepting the job of Provincial Committee [KW] first secretary, I had agreed with the comrades that I would perform my duties only until the reports and elections conference. This way I would not surprise anyone. These were the arguments against my candidacy.

However, a change of plans regarding this matter resulted mainly from the actions of the aktiv, by people whom we had prompted to take on a party function, people who had the same doubts as I did. I will not conceal the

fact that in the discussions of that time, one often heard the word "treason" in the sense that those, who were doing the persuading, did not care themselves to be candidates. So I set aside the issue of performing my duties further until the conference's approval. As can be seen, there is nothing sensational about this at all.

[Question] They say that you are a man of character. Does that mean that you enjoy going against the current?

[Answer] Only those who work around me can answer that. I will say as much, however, that after having been in social politics for many years, I decided after the crisis of 1956 that I would not accept anything in politics on blind faith. Above all, if we are talking about practical matters, or how to implement specific ideas, provisions and resolutions, I will try my best to have my own view. Of course, I know that it is impossible to have an individual opinion in every matter. We are often forced to take on the views of people who are near to the heart of the matter in certain issues. But we need to attempt to think on our own, to analyze what society can do, what is real and what is merely words without substance. I have taken on such a critical approach for good.

It is also true that approach binding solutions without devotion. I try to determine if it is possible to do something better, more effectively, in many cases, more simply and end up concluding that the best solutions are the simple ones, although I would not wish to be suspected of having a simplified view of life. I look for new or refined solutions not out of spite but because of conviction that it is my duty. Only this way can I admit that I sometimes "swim against the current." In looking for solutions I am rather obstinate; sometimes it turns out that some of my views were correct, but this does not cause me a feeling of spiteful satisfaction. After all, I know that the right to chose and the right to be wrong come together in politics.

[Question] What issues take up your time in the Politburo?

[Answer] The answer is not so simple. By virtue of the chairmanship of the Central Committee Commission for Science and Education, I am one of the Politburo members who are required to some extent to take a stand in these issues if they are on the agenda. In principle, however, each Politburo member is required to take a stand on the basic issues discussed, not only on the basis of his own beliefs, but also on the basis of what his constituents feel.

[Question] I understand that this is a moral requirement. Would you care to say anything more about the Politburo's principles and how it works?

[Answer] Above all, it is important that the Politburo works in accordance with a semi-annual action plan. The matter is somewhat obvious: in other Communist parties this is no novelty, but in our case, vis-a-vis the poor experiences of recent years, this means the introduction of law and order. All Politburo members have something to say about this action plan.

The guarantee that deliberations are carefully prepared is the fact that materials are provided in writing beforehand. This rule covers all the most serious issues and affords Politburo members the opportunity to discuss these subjects in a group of close associates beforehand and then present them at a larger, more extensive conference. It also happens sometimes that the materials are late, but what the heck, we are going through an especially eventful period and there is never enough time for everything. In helping to familiarize the often-difficult problems of a specific nature, we also invite the authors of studies presented to the Politburo or eminent experts to participate in those portions of the meeting dedicated to those problems. At this point I should also say that the Politburo's deliberating body is made up of Politburo members, their deputies and the secretaries of the Central Committee.

A part of the meeting has no defined agenda. That is for the free exchange of ideas and opinions which refer to different issues and pressing problems. I consider these meetings to be very useful; interesting proposals usually result.

I will also add that the way Politburo proceedings are conducted is such that the expression of individual views does not cause the least harm. I believe that all these rules and practical habits create the conditions for the Politburo's best work.

[Question] Since scientific problems have not become unimportant for you as a result of your professional political activity, I will ask: What kind of role do you think science will have in overcoming the crisis?

[Answer] We regularly read in the press about the debate as to whether science is attending to the needs of the economy. There were two extreme views then: scientists claim that their good solutions were not applied; afterwards, practical people claim that scientific solutions are not useful to their work. I would not care to take either side in such an extreme debate. I personally think that we were unable to harness science to social and economic activity. I still think, however, that science can contribute much to the progress of our country as well as to overcoming the crisis. A condition is that those who have power understand its role.

Let us take a look at the social sciences. Their role is the analysis of impending phenomena and the formation of future strategic models for social policy, and not the improvisation of actions based on incantations which will not assist. If we are talking about discipline leading to technological progress, then the formation of appropriate perspectives is required; decisions have to be made as to what is important in technology since we, as a country, are not able to do everything. We cannot advance, for example, in electronics or nuclear physics because colossal expenditures are needed; however, we can do much in certain other scientific fields. We must consciously decide, consistently support chosen fields, but also realize that result will not be quick in happening. The authorities need to demonstrate much imagination and intelligent patience in regard to science.

[Question] Let's talk about the party now. People are saying everywhere that the party is getting stronger. But then the question: How strong is the party becoming organizationally, and how strong ideologically?

[Answer] I think that the assertion that the party is getting stronger is true. We recognize a growth in organizational efficiency and that is the first step if the party is to function. It is easy to set tasks, if there will be not practical efforts to implement them, then they remain only empty slogans.

If we are talking about ideological values, something which belongs to the basic issues, for which we are struggling, then there is agreement among party members. However, there is much to settle if we are to arrive at our goal. There is a lot to be done, if we are talking about the level of marxist awareness. This problem was disregarded for many years; for this reason, many members do not know the ABCs of their ideology well. True, they endorse this ideology almost instinctively, but this is not enough. When we argue with our opponents in the factories and mills, we are often weak because we do not have enough information.

I believe that the party consolidation process is an undoubted accomplishment, especially if we compare the current situation with the one we had recently. However, plant organizations should strengthen their role on their own territory and their members should improve considerably their knowledge of marxism.

[Question] Wroclaw turned out to be one of the centers of national underground opposition last year. Also one of the centers for intellectuals. Did the Wroclaw party organization demonstrate intellectual efficiency in the struggle to convince others?

[Answer] It is true that the opposition found support in Wroclaw among the intellectuals. We also have a large group of partisan and nonpartisan intellectuals and are trying to use them in our own work. And if we demonstrated efficiency in the struggle to convince other people, then this means that we succeeded in gaining the support of the public. I have to say that we were not ready for this type of struggle, but it is also difficult to fight on the level used by our opponents. Why? When the opponent avoids elementary civility and turns to demagoguery, if not outright lies, how can we talk about real arguments? There is no real chance for this. Besides, we are not struggling to win over our opponents, but all those who, having accepted the socialist system, want a quick end to the crisis and wish reforms, law and order in the country. We are also conducting extensive education within the party and this at a good level. Our efforts in nonpartisan centers are equally the result of having attracted the intellectual aktiv to participate.

[Question] A Central Committee Planum on ideological matters has been planned. It was to have taken place earlier; why has its starting date been changing?

[Answer] I can say that ideological plenums belong to the most difficult ones to prepare for. A new version of the report is ready--and not because the previous version has been discarded. Each new version is simply an attempt at perfecting the approach to the subject. I know that there are rumors of conflicts among the leaders, but these are only rumors. The point is that there is insufficient time to digest the problems which occur by themselves.

[Question] Professor, for almost 3 years you have been in the center of very intensive political activity. Don't you ever feel like you would want to return to your office at the institute, to your laboratory of technical mechanics (which were the center of your interests), or to the quiet work of a scientist?

[Answer] Excuse me, I am already 50 years old; for 12 years I was the rector and was burdened by many obligations not directly associated with scientific work; for 3 years I have been engaged in party work. For a long time now I have not been able to participate in even average research activity which, especially in those fields where experimenting is ongoing, requires a man's total dedication if the results are to be good. Yes, science makes great demands; if I return to it then I have to be aware of my limitations at this level.

Conversations With Jan Zielinski

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 16 May 83 p 3

[Article by Danuta Olejniczak and Krzysztof Kuzniewski: "Everyone Should Characterize Himself By Action"]

[Text] A report of a series of telephone conversations between comrade Jan Zielinski, Katowice party provincial committee secretary, and our readers.

[Question] Comrade secretary, I have been aware that information from the factories, which has been reaching the Provincial Committee, is as incomplete as before about workforce feelings.

This consideration from comrade J. Zielinski's eighteenth caller underscored the need for direct contacts with representatives of the authorities. One form of these contacts is the telephonic meetings of KW secretaries with our readers, organized by TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA. It is a pity, however, that the caller, who made the above statement, remained anonymous and did not explain on what he based such a comment. If only the KW secretary could know in which factory or mill the caller worked, he could pass on the appropriate comments to the party organization there. The failure of passing on all the information is very serious. Specific information, better yet, the passing on of all the information by the caller, is necessary in order to correct such a situation.

However, of the 47 TR readers who called comrade Zielinski on 10 May, only 8 did not identify themselves. Perhaps, this resulted because of forgetfulness or lack of presence; but it is a good habit in telephone conversations since the issues brought up, however trivial, could have been brought up by someone else. Only one of the callers indicated that he wished to remain anonymous; in the context of the problem he touched upon, this can be understood.

But there will be no names in our report here, only the facts and problems touched upon. Each of the issues which all point to even larger issues, illustrates phenomena from our contemporary sociopolitical life, even if only negatively.

We can be glad, however, that almost all the statements touching upon party matters were unusually constructive.

Concentrate Efforts on Most Important Issues

A reader from Tychow said: "In my opinion, the task of the basic party organization [POP] is a concern for all issues which impact on it. But in this situation, the organization is concentrating its efforts on the most important issues. The economic reform is now such an issue; we have to fight hard for it. In my opinion, the reform's most important elements are quality production, its quantity (not to be gained by sacrificing quality), and prices (but not so far as to permit inflation). A fourth factor is an appropriate personnel policy. For this, I believe that each POP should appoint a commission on reform matters by letting nonpartisan people participate. The commission's task would be the supervision over the proper introduction of the reform in its own plant with regard to its impact and elements higher up. The POP must see to it that its recommendations for leadership positions be passed along to the proper people."

The attitudes of plant management personnel were also touched upon in a different way.

A 20-year party member put it this way: "Everyone should characterize himself by action. At the same time, it can be seen that people in positions with titles and high salaries have won the chance to travel abroad on business thanks to the Polish People's Republic; they have cut themselves off entirely from social work. If they cannot participate in party work or in the professional trade unions, then they could at least work in the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth. It cannot be allowed that a general designer closes his briefcase at precisely 3 o'clock and sets off exclusively after his own private pursuits."

The secretary agrees: "Management cadre and their attitudes need to be periodically analyzed and evaluated, and not only in regard to expertise. Each one of these people has to show by deed that he is for the socialist system."

The routine for evaluating leadership cadre in our factories and filling these positions based on party recommendations are not easy. This demands objectivity, principles and, sometimes, the know-how to publicly express negative but fair criticism on the part of subordinates in the professional hierarchy vis-a-vis their superiors. Petty, even unjust repression by superiors in professional work is constantly present along with fear. Another party task in the factory is the defense of the authority of the management and a fair evaluation of its actions.

This is only possible, however, when the basic party elements are strong. This same caller pointed to the need for consistency in actions; such is shown by the decisive reckoning with the execution of party tasks.

"The party's mission should be a holy thing and cannot be approached strongly by some and then only lightly by others. Another issue is the proper division of tasks. It has become the habit for us to have young people, inexperienced people and, most often, candidates record the minutes at party meetings. These people are still only learning; they do not turn in the minutes until 3 to 5 days have elapsed because no one has instructed them to do so. They forget about some of the issues and, therefore, never turn in a correct picture of the meetings' course."

Comrade Zielinski answers: "Party documentation is a very important matter. All the problems referred to by you, comrade, are issues of methodology and the format of party meetings."

Doubt appears at this point: Does every type of operation in the basic party element have to be directed or defined by superior authority?

Another indication which clearly show the noncompliance with obligatory rules: young people "pamper" themselves by organizing meetings of the Polish Socialist Youth Movement [ZSMP] during the working day. This also goes for other social organizations which operate in the factories and mills. If only these were indispensable meetings... But it happens that even during the workday, they would show movies!

An accounting of our conversations with our readers would also have been a mistake if we were to concentrate only on the negative aspects. If we expound only isolated cases, then we still wish to prevent others from co-mitting the same mistakes. Of greatest value are those prepared, constructive proposals by our readers which refer to various party centers and fields of activity.

Young People Do Not Wish To Take Advantage Of Advice Offered By Their Elders

A party activist of many years from Katowice proposed a series of interesting ideas vis-a-vis a specific situation in scientific research centers on how to vitalize their work. He did not even state all of his ideas when the line went dead, unfortunately; we had problems with our connections that day. Two conversations were interrupted; often, the telephone went "dead" for about a minute. And although as many as 47 callers made it through

successfully, it is a fact that not all who wanted to did not make the connection. One of our readers from Zawiercie, who was unable to get his call through, drove to our editor's office in order to present his case.

There were several calls from party activists of many years. Their activity was often tied to the most difficult years of the Polish People's Republic, the creation and consolidation of the people's authority. Currently, certain phenomena in the political life of our nation are similar; the experience of these activists could come in handy in solving our most pressing issues. Unfortunately, even though they have expressed their willingness to actively assist, they often make the comment that young people do not wish to take advantage of their help.

Many comments also referred to a wise, systematic and profound effort towards ideology. This was caused by the increased interest of certain social groups for such things as the proceedings of the Polish Sejm; TV coverage of such events was extended by several hours. There was a proposal to initiate a series of subjects on the radio and in the press to cover a basic course in the principles of marxism-leninism.

There were also individual issues, outright personal one, such as requests for help in the explanation of certain basic issues associated with party affiliation.

Concern For Public Welfare

Among the issues voiced by our callers, there were also those which showed the people's concern for the public welfare.

An almost classic example of mismanagement is that at several construction sites, from which the workers have already departed, there remain materials which could be usable elsewhere. In the "B" housing development in Zagorze, elevation slabs, thrown out by the builders, are lying about. A worker from the Katowice mills, who lived on Wanda Wasilewska Street, went to the administration of the municipal apartment cooperative with this matter. Unfortunately, his words were not taken seriously. Besides, the disorder created by the builders in Zagorze can also be found in other cities as well, inter alia, in Bedzina.

Such issues as a broken pipe which has been spewing water onto the street for two weeks now, or the major renovation of a house, which is reaching the limits of its occupants' staying power, certainly do not need the intervention of everyone all the way up to the KW secretary. This points to the fact that in certain cities the administration operates a bit too sluggishly, while the local authorities are not focusing the necessary attention on the solution of these small, but extremely important as far as the inhabitants are concerned, issues. We can understand that not every town has the sufficient resources for capital improvements, but we can justify in no case the indolence of those people in charge.

Really scandalous situation also occur. A worker from the Zabrze mines cannot move into his new home and vacate his present one, inasmuch as the housing cooperative did not obligate itself to finish the outside of the new house; e.g. sealing the roof, through which rain seeps into the inside, destroying what the owner has built with his own hands after his professional workday.

The following story is also similar. The stop for bus line 674 in the Paderewski housing development in Katowice has been included in the community transportation schedules for 6 months now. Despite this, the access road into the development, although hardened, is still not yet covered with asphalt. Likewise, the housing cooperative bears responsibility because it forgot to include this issue in its investments.

We need to add to the same group of scandalous situations the case where an inhabitant of the village of Budzisko in Raciborski informed his boss about the destruction of drainage channels and then was punished for the same by the village administrator simply and extremely effectively. Then there is the "informer", a military invalid of the first group, who had been deprived of his ration cards!

Several Issues Are Unique

Of course, the above-cited examples are unique, but for those directly affected, they are a gloomy addition to everyday headaches. It ends up that people do not always know where to turn then if there has been an obvious violation of the standards of public life.

There were also calls in which issues were touched upon which could be defined as habitual misunderstandings. A lady living in Mariacki Street in Katowice, complaining about people from the so-called fringes of society who raise chaos in her street and disturb her peace, declared authoritatively that: "Prostitutes come out of the train stations on Moniuszka Street and ask for as much as 7,000 zlotys."

Thanks to Minister Krasinski, we need to bring up, of course, the matter of "crunchy rolls and good bread." Both a reader from Sosnowiec as well as a reader from Chorzow suggested that bread be brought to the stores before the children left for school and the household for work. Certainly an issue for immediate settlement if ever there was one. The same is true for tram tickets where everything depends solely on efficiency. A raise in fares on municipal lines was to have occurred any day, but the transit authorities warned its riders through the TR that the needs of a particular section would be satisfied.

Unfortunately, there are also those situations where one man sticks it to another, when one citizen effectively embitters another's life. It is a problem between neighbors as in Spytkowice in the province of Białski, or it is the scandalous behavior of the personnel at a hospital where the patients are haunted by the spectre of "an incurable cancer."

And what do we say about the case from Katowice about a reader who did not receive an allocation for footwear for his child because the child was born too late, after 6 May 1982. On one hand, the story is humorous; on the other hand, it is a real headache for the father wandering from store to store, looking for footwear sold above the allocation, that is, footwear impossible to find.

In our report, we cited only several dozen problems brought up by the readers of TR--the callers of the party provincial committee secretary in Katowice. Comrade Jan Zielinski directly took a position in many cases; he almost immediately presented solutions. Several times, he personally suggested a meeting and promised that he himself would take up the issues voiced.

Several issues, indicated by the callers, and also those issues which were not printed, will be investigated by our journalists. We will not neglect to inform our readers of the results.

12247

CSO: 2600/944

TREATMENT OF SPACE FLIGHTS BY RELIGIONS EXAMINED

Bucharest REVISTA DE FILOSOFIE in Romanian Mar-Apr 83 pp 164-167

[Article by Victor Kernbach: "A Collision Between Religion and Space Exploration?"]

[Text] It would be equally rash to assert that the start of space explorations has dealt to religion in general a decisive blow and to assert that religion remains intact in its essential mechanism after this magnificent human action. No, here we are not in neopositivist philosopher Alfred J. Ayer's position of saying that the assertion of believers that God exists and the assertion of atheists that God does not exist are equally absurd. Atheism's problem, in this regard, is to discuss religion on a cosmological plane, not on an aerospace plane. In fact, religion's general crisis has many other sources, especially of a philosophical nature, and much less referring to the current technological explosion.

A witticism spoken by Yuriy Gagarin after his inaugural flight (God does not exist, since I did not encounter Him in the heavens) was taken seriously by some occasional popularizers, who turned it into a naive syllogism, usable in a modular pseudoatheism of a construction far more emotional than rational. There are some persons sincerely interested in the relationship between religion and the exploration of space. But, put in nonliteral terms, the problem will suffer from immaturity. Moreover, it is often only a revival of the somewhat older question about religious belief's attitude toward the invention and evolution of aviation, and if we investigate it more deeply, we discover its root in the Icarian myth. Naturally, for us, the problem takes another route, it being one of the traffic lanes on the road between theology and science, a road that has been reexamined continually, in various nuances, from Tommaso d'Aquino onward.

Let us not forget that the traditional religions, even the excessively dogmatic ones, are adaptive and no longer repeat their old errors, coagulable in the symbol of the condemnation of Galileo. Not just the big Universalist religions make concessions in the presence of the great scientific revolutions, in order to protect their vocation of planetary expansion. Under certain circumstances, even some sects that have a more soundly worked-out theological mechanism become adaptable. The difficulties to resolve refer to the general impact with the second environment, found in a spectacularly explosive phase, and what is

all the more important for religion, when the many channels offered by the mass media are transmitting culture to the most diverse human strata.

In the case of our problem, religion (as a general phenomenon), as a rule, neither denies nor scorns the flights of space exploration. The distrust of many religious circles, prior to 1961, meets in the era as well with the skepticism of laymen, numbered even among atheist scientists; a person can be non-religious and yet incapable of thinking inductively, can reject a scientific innovation in the process of being worked out.

After 1961, religion accepted quite rapidly the idea of the conquest of outer space because it found there a new instrument even for itself. We can paraphrase a famous proposition of theologian Martin Buber by saying that there is also a risk in /not/ *[in italics]* believing.

And now?

The problem no longer resides, consequently, in any fear of the theologians that man is becoming emancipated (this fear refers only to the prospect of his self-sufficiency) and is readying his incursion and even his invasion into the astral world. The problem now resides in the fact that the religions view expansion into space with an exobiological interest: just as, for the sake of light, in the places of worship of many old religions there was a gradual transition from the rushlight to the candle, from the candle to the electric bulb, the priests have accepted by turns, after apostolic travel on foot, the saddle horse, carriage, bicycle, automobile and airplane and are, it seems, also ready to accept the spaceship. There are, as we will see, plans of cosmic conversion. Not God will be sought with spaceships, but possible fellows in reason. In the Middle Ages, the North Star, as the sole fixed point in the perpetually rotating sky, thus as the (apparent) "center" of this sky, was considered the divine "throne room" (like a kind of celestial Babylon, ascribed in the time of King Hammurabi to the god Marduk), from which God thus supervised and ran the universe. Moreover, in a mausoleum in Ravenna there is a mosaic depicting such images.

Since then, the religious view has become more flexible. A few looks at the pontifical encyclicals and at the statements of theologians will be profitable.

In 1950, Pope Pius XII stated in the encyclical "Humani Generis": "It is laudable to pay heed to demonstrated facts of modern science. As regards the hypotheses, the greatest prudence is strictly necessary, even when these hypotheses are based on scientific data." But 11 years later, under the all-out pressure of the scientific revolution and of the contemporary technological explosion, the pontifical prudence had another direction--in Pope John XXIII's encyclical "Mater et Magistra": "It is true that, in all times, the church has stated and states continually that scientific and technical progress and the material well-being that results from it are true assets, ones that thus mark an important step in the progress of human civilization. Nevertheless, they should be judged according to their true nature--that is, as instruments or means used to attain more surely a higher goal, which consists of facilitating and promoting the spiritual perfection of people in the natural order and in the supernatural order."

After the landing on the moon by the American crew (Neil Armstrong and Edwin Aldrin), the French periodical L'EXPRESS (No 941, 1969), in its extensive account of the event, also made an insertion with a characteristic theme--"La Lune et Dieu"--questioning two Catholic priests. Dominican Dominique Dubarle felt (this is notable) that "the discovery of a planet inhabited by beings raised to consciousness" would be a more significant event and did not consider it impossible for there to also exist somewhere in outer space "beings who, in another way, could discover their divine filiation," and Jesuit theologian Francois Russo, appraising in a natural tone this human effort of astronautics, saw in it a circumstance in which "man understands better the unity of the human race." It is clear that both statements are centered around the idea, dear to any religion, of universality.

In the attitude of the people of religion toward man's incursions into outer space, the idea of an act inspired by divine will does not disappear for an instant. Nearly two decades ago, commenting--favorably, as always--on one of the current space flights, Radio Vatican observed that "the development of technology, achieved by human hands, hides in it an immense danger: man could believe that precisely he is the creator, that everything that has been created on the earth with his hands is only the feat of his mind and hands. But man is not the demiurge: he discovers only what is accessible to him and what the Lord God indicates to him." All the receptions of astronauts at the Vatican have also become interpretable in precisely this sense. Congratulating Soviet cosmonauts A. Nilolayev and P. Popovich, Pope John XXIII said to them: "We would like very much for these great deeds to acquire the significance of an offering by man to God, the supreme creator and lawgiver." When he received American astronaut Frank Borman, Pope Paul VI congratulated him for participating in "a better knowledge by man of God's work."

The pressure of the events produced by the science of today does not modify either the symbol of the belief of a religion or the doctrinary structure. Islam, for instance, introduced electric lighting very lately into the mosques, and during the religious services at the Second Vatican Council the organ was replaced with the beat of African drums in certain situations. Like the attitude toward astronautics, all these things are only behavioral softenings--that is, acts of ecclesiastical strategy. In an even wider sense, there is symptomatic a "Catechism for Adults" (German), published by the United Evangelical-Lutheran Church, where the old concepts, now antiquated, about heaven and hell are revised, this time there being denied to them any spatial significance ("the spatial representations about heaven and hell have collapsed for good" by virtue, as the quoted catechism stressed, of the triumph of the Copernican system, of the space voyages and so on).

We know well that any expansion of a religion is dictated by the conceit of potential universality. This mechanism is released by the mythological idea of a unique mankind, as a divine anthropogonic product, descending from a primordial couple. We find a theological definition of the phenomenon even in Saint Augustine, in the famous syntagm "Civitas Dei." But the mechanism of universality has not functioned to the utmost in all religions. Christianity is in the forefront, of course, since both Buddhism and Islam have a following--although large--limited to specific areas. Christianity (and not just Catholic

Christianity, there being used extensively that systema accomodativa invented by the Jesuits) has even formulated its vocation of conquering the universe. An explicit element is offered to us in the thinking of Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, who never accepted the idea that Jesus Christ's universal influence could be limited only to our planet, as a small cosmic fraction. This is why, therefore, it has been possible to speak at a given time (of course, only in the past two decades) even of a Catholic monastic group being trained thoroughly, within the framework of astronautical technology, as an astral missionary group with the mission of converting possible reasoning populations on other worlds. It should be noted, in this regard that, for instance, the Vatican, as was seen, has followed the progress of astronautics with surprising interest from the outset, informing itself about recent hypotheses or experiments; and we will quote a phrase from an article published by M. Alessandri (in L'OSSERVATORE ROMANO, April 1965): "As far as science can tell, the ion engine will be far more suitable for reaching the distant planets in a reasonable time." And it is known that it is supposed that ion engines could provide semirelativistic velocities!

The phenomenon is, naturally, amenable to extrapolation, and it sometimes functions according to the feedback principle.

The religious forms, to a large or small degree, remain the same "opium of the people" (Marx's definition nevertheless not deserving to ever be used simplistically), because there are now small sects (or only pseudoreligious groups with a certain following, many of them in North America) that have the worship of flying saucers (for instance, the ufologist groups about which astrophysicist J. Allen Hynek speaks in "The UFO Experience"). However, they do not go beyond the parameters of any millenarian cult, since they await from the "extraterrestrial visitors" either salvation (like a tribe with a syncretic religion on an island in the Pacific awaits, nowadays, the second coming of Jesus, but in the uniform of an American naval officer on board a big liner) or total eschatological punishment.

Excluding the sects self-sequestered in a bigoted traditionalism, there are also appearing in our times quasi-religious sects whose mechanism no longer is the theological mystique, as we know it in Buddhism or in patristic Christianity, but some vulgarized forms of sectarian mysticism that invent ad hoc rudimentary neomythologies, such as, for instance, the Aetherius Society, with headquarters in Detroit, scraped together immediately after the moon expedition. In its neomythology, God is the scientist of the universe who sent to our planet, two millennia ago, the astronaut...Jesus Christ, with the significance of salvation being reinterpreted as the lifting of the ban on people traveling themselves to other planets.

It is true that most religions (and, moreover, some profane conceptions, subject from another angle to the same old anthropomorphism, not extinct even in the middle of the era of the hypotheses of exobiology) have accorded and will still accord, in their cosmological view, a hypertrophic importance to the earth and its population in the universe. With there also being added to this reductionistic cosmology the great inappetence of several religious forms inadaptable to the times and specific in their ultrabigotry (which, when they do

not deny space travel outright, at least reject it as a satanic product), we will note that the human expeditions into outer space acquire a plainly differentiated echo in the world of the contemporary religious beliefs.

We must not forget that often, in the half-light of the religions, there circulate all kinds of superstitions, whose promoters feel terrorized by undigested or poorly understood scientific truths (even when these truths become applied, as in the case of space research), which--remaining outside the general ideas--the ignorant mind (or even the excessively, unilaterally specialized one) misinterprets under the catastrophic sign of the fear of thinking autonomously.

12105

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'SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY' OF VATICAN ATTACKED

Bucharest REVISTA DE FILOSOFIE in Romanian Mar-Apr 83 pp 137-144

[Article by Petru Berar: "The Contemporary Contradictions of Social Christianity"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in italics]

[Text] In his address at the International Labor Conference (Geneva, 15 June 1982), Pope John Paul II declared: "I published the encyclical *"Laborem Exercens"* (1981) on labor in order to make a contribution to the development of the Catholic Church's social doctrine...." Noteworthy by its very title, *"Through Labor,"* this encyclical--in other words, this pontifical document of great significance through its /doctrinary/ character--commemorated, at the same time, the passage of 90 years since the appearance of Leo XIII's encyclical *"Rerum Novarum,"* unanimously considered social Catholicism's "birth certificate." Eulogistically quoting all the popes prior to him, from the past century, along the line of elaborating the Catholic social doctrine, the current pontiff added in the same address: "I wanted here (that is, in *"Laborem Exercens"*--P. B.) to devote a major document of my pontificate to human labor, to the man who labors..., and then he even titles a whole paragraph *"Man Must Always Be in the Center."*

But, in order to grasp what this contribution to the development of the Catholic social doctrine tends to be, it is necessary for us to observe the specific character of the Vatican's /postconciliar/ social and theoretical measures--a line on which the humanistic phraseology like that mentioned above is inscribed. As is known, the role of the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965) in the orientation of contemporary Catholicism is both contradictory and of extraordinary complexity--characterizations with which not only atheist thinkers but also no few notable Catholic theologians agree.

Now, when 20 years have passed since the opening of this council, prepared by John XXIII, also called, with good reason, the "reformer" by Catholic theologians, it can be observed, in the first place, that an act of such scope was to be expected from Catholicism. In general, religious institutions, especially the gigantic ones, with a supranational character, excel in conservatism, but the Roman Catholic Church's dilemma--manifested particularly in its flagrant break with the rapidly changing "world"--had reached critical points extremely dangerous for the perpetuation of its active existence. Increasing isolation and misdirection of the Roman Catholic Church, especially in relation

to the progressive political orientations, to which it was hostile (the struggle for socialism, against colonialism, for national independence, for social rights), to the culture of the century, to the new mentalities of the masses awakened to conscious social life, especially after World War II--such factors and many others made more and more difficult the dialogue of the clerical authorities with the mass of the believers. That the papacy sought solutions to its critical problems--including some new ones and others centuries old--is noticeable in the very topics of discussion that preoccupied the council fathers: the renovation of the church's positions toward the modern world; the struggle against the supremacy of the Curia Romana and the internationalization of the leadership of Catholicism; the reevaluation and activation of the laity within the framework of the Catholic missionary process; the reappraisal of the various mass media in religious propaganda; the replacement of the Latin language with the national languages in the Catholic liturgy; the struggle for ecumenism, in other words, relations of collaboration with the other Christian religions, but also with the non-Christian ones; a dialogue with "nonbelievers" (atheists), this council being the first one in history at which the atheists were not slandered in any way. What impressed the most, however, were the Second Vatican Council's ideological repercussions on a social plane, particularly the echoes of the encyclicals of John XXIII and Paul VI, which practically demolished what the so-called "social Catholicism" or the Catholic social doctrine, appearing at the end of the last century, had represented until then. As Paul VI said, "Today the major fact of which everyone must take cognizance is that the social problem has become worldwide."

The reformulation of the Catholic social doctrine by the Second Vatican Council became the most controversial and heated topic in the conciliar discussions, because, frankly speaking, society's modern problems, as they are felt and seen by the man of today, never actually entered into the Roman Catholic Church's discussions. This is precisely why the major resources of the so-called *aggiornamento* (updating, renovation, modernization and so on) must be sought in the necessity, felt acutely by theology, of orienting itself toward history and sociology and of seeking a new and more effective language in its dialogue with the profane world. It was on "those signs of the times" that Pope John XXIII and the editors of his encyclicals spoke.

But what is /social Catholicism/? The Vatican's theologians constantly argue a certain objectivity or "neutrality" of this social doctrine in comparison to the partisan attitudes, committed politically to certain social orientations and in opposition to others. But even the theologians in other Christian cults note the fact that this social and ideological impartiality of Catholicism is far from being real. In precisely this regard, Orthodox theologian Prof Dr Ion Bria notes that in the very encyclical "Rerum Novarum," from 1891, Pope Leo XIII "...cautiously gives his opinion about the social ideas of the times, /vindicating private ownership and the reconciliation of the social classes/" (our italics--P. B.). And in connection with the Roman Catholic cult's current specific character, the same author specifies: "Face to face with a continually changing society, due to the technological and social revolution, /Catholicism/ poses itself the problem of its pastoral and cultural accommodation."*

* Ion Bria, "Dictionar de Teologie Ortodoxa" [*Dictionary of Orthodox Theology*], Bucharest, 1981, p 90.

In fact, social Catholicism's origins are not religious but political. Although configured as an autonomous ideology at the end of the last century, social Catholicism is actually a product of Catholicism's specific historical path, and speaking about this specificity, shaped in the remote past, French political scientist Jean Touchard remarks: "As far back as in the times of the Roman Empire's most difficult trials, two theories faced each other antithetically: on the one hand, one, that of the Christian East, which, recognizing the identity of the empire and of the Christian society, allowed, despite any opposition, the establishment of a unified order in which the temporal and the spiritual were intermixed and accepted one another; on the other hand, through the voice of Saint Augustine, the other doctrine, that of the West, affirmed the radical separation of the Christian order from the imperial order. Of course, the latter did not constitute an obstacle to the momentary establishment of the unified medieval order, but in the church's hands it would remain forever a weapon and an occasion for claiming independence and moral supremacy with regard to the political power."* The principle of differentiating between the "earthly kingdom" and the "heavenly kingdom" thus constitutes the remote echo and, at the same time, the theoretical basis, with a very obvious political substratum, of Catholicism's relationship to society. The Catholic Church's tendency of spiritual supremacy over the profane world includes in itself both doctrinary justifications and norms. What, in the face of reason, seems to be a paradox, which indicates a certain ideological duplicity, represents something natural for the social positions of Catholicism in the past and in the present. The same society is both harshly criticized (partly or wholly, morally or in a general social manner) and justified, by divine will--a biased and curtailed justification, however, since, in reality, it had in view, overtly or covertly, the right to exist of precisely the unjust social conditions, generated by the existence of man's exploitation by man and the political oppression of the ruling social classes.

A certain kind of "social forgetfulness" of their past constitutes, it seems, the main subterfuge of the historical religions, to which they resort whenever they feel the need to conceal the oversights in what they regarded as being eternal (by divine inspiration) and, in fact, turned out to be temporal (historical). We will not find, for instance, in the remote historical past of the Catholic Church social and political ideas as systematized as those contained in the doctrine of social Catholicism. The societies preceding the modern one were themselves mystified in their ideological structure, in large part due precisely to religion's contribution and due to the immense role played by all sorts of traditions, and the Catholic Church's struggle on a social plane took place almost entirely through the theological categories. This situation began to go into a decline along with the dawning of the modern era, when the /social/ appeared more and more clear and conceptualized in its true appearance. European society's secularization, in particular, whose success increased along with the emergence from feudalism, created /social atheism/, far more dangerous than any nonconformity regarding the religious tenets. At the level of the elite of public opinion, the roots of "evil" were shifted from the human consciousness to society, that is, to something objective, which no longer

* Jean Touchard, "Histoire des Idees Politiques," PUF /Presses Universitaires de France/, Paris, 1978, Vol I, pp 114-115.

produced just one kind of denial of religion or another, but also a gradual expulsion of it, especially as an institution. As a French sociologist remarks, secularization "is first a phenomenon of differentiation, when religion becomes denominationalized while society becomes rationalized."* In this new social state, when, imperceptibly, history slips from its grasp, the Roman Catholic Church enters into glaring contradictions that involve its very social status. And one of these contradictions seems to be extremely significant: on the one hand, in a world more and more conscious of its profane, nonreligious character, its activity too seems less and less sacrosanct and more and more similar to any other social activity; on the other hand, however, religious activity profits from the greater possibilities of contemporary culture and civilization, so that in the same secularized society we encounter an activity of the church disproportionately extended beyond its real social role. The above-mentioned French sociologist makes, for example, the following statement: "There is now much to do, to see, to read where religion does not have any place. Nevertheless, in this situation, the First Vatican Council (1869-1870) had to make more noise in the world than the Council of Trent (1545-1563), and the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965) more than Vatican I, but for reasons connected with the development of information. The council fathers were 2 times more numerous at Vatican I than at Trent and 4 times more numerous at Vatican II (the only one in history, moreover, with representatives from all over the world, thus truly universal--P. B.) than at Vatican I, but before the French Revolution in 1789 the publication of religious books represented 90 percent, and now the situation is reversed."**

Speaking about social Christianity's birth certificate, through "Rerum Novarum" (1891), we can observe that the series of papal encyclicals with a modern social character began only at the end of the last century, and then such documents became more and more frequent. Regarding the first social encyclical, the Catholic commentators themselves, noting the innovation brought to the era by this papal document, mention that the Catholic Church's first confrontation with what is now called the "labor problem," with the problems raised by the relations between owners and workers in the economic activity of the capitalist society, dates from 1891. It is significant, moreover, that all the papal successors, in their turn, insisted on making, in the encyclicals promulgated by them, long references to Leo XIII's pontifical document, it being considered the germ of the entire Catholic social doctrine. Regarding the character and content of the social solutions advanced by Leo XIII, it is not useless for us to mention that, in a very significant manner, even the Catholic authorities of today view them not only circumspectly but also with avowed reservations and even with an obvious critical spirit. Thus, for instance, Pope Paul VI himself, on the occasion of and in connection with the anniversary of this encyclical, argued extremely significant observations. In "Octogesima Adveniens" (1971), he stated that /the Roman Catholic Church does not oppose to the existing social realities an ideal of social structure of its own/. Paul VI acknowledges the pluralism of the social and political positions of the

* Emile Poulat, "Eglise Contre Bourgeoisie. Introduction au Devenir du Catholicisme Actuel," Casterman, Paris, 1977, p 261.

**Ibidem, p 262.

Catholics, to whom even the right to join political organizations that proclaim socialist aspirations is allowed. In an "apostolic letter" sent to Cardinal Roy, archbishop of Quebec, this pontiff wrote: "In view of the solidarities felt by everyone and in accordance with the concrete situations, the legitimacy of a variety of possible choices must be recognized. One and the same Christian belief can generate different commitments."

It is possible to consider justifiably that between "Rerum Novarum" (1891) and John XXIII's "Mater et Magistra" (1961) new and significant principles did not arise in the Catholic social doctrine. "Mater et Magistra" (1961) is the papal document that represents, in essence, social Catholicism's introduction to the modern era, because in it there seem evident some new accents even on the matter of private ownership, toward which a position nevertheless not without ambiguity is formulated: although the right to such ownership is mentioned, the legitimate existence of other types of ownership, which cannot purely and simply be condemned, is also recognized at the same time. The same pope's encyclical "Pacem in Terris" (1962) then has a special importance, because there, for the first time in the history of social Catholicism, the problems of peace and war are also viewed and analyzed laically, not just in relation to respecting the Christian ideal of social justice, an ideal closely connected, for many decades in a row, with the idea of the anticommunist war. John XXIII even formulates some concrete requirements: the banning of weapons of mass destruction, general disarmament, negotiations and reciprocal concessions in the resolution of international conflicts and so on.

However, Paul VI's encyclical "Populorum Progressio" (1967), which, as has often been noted, has a more pronounced social and political character than an ethical and religious one, caught the public's attention the most--and, moreover, justifiably. In an explicit form, the Catholic Church's positions on a number of contemporary social problems among the most important ones are expressed there: the development of the Third World; the situation of contemporary capitalism, of the right of ownership and of economic liberalism; the aspects of the policy of industrialization; economic planning; demographic policy; the programs of economic aid for the developing countries; racial prejudice; trade unions; and so on. The criticism addressed to a few essential aspects of the capitalist social system itself is of particular interest. This criticism fits, of course, into the general tone of the papal message and does not involve radical solutions, does not lead, naturally, to revolutionary conclusions, but converges toward the desires of Christian humanitarianism. However, it is significant because, although formulated in a religious guise, it indicts a social system that, in the Catholic Church's social doctrine, was regarded until not long ago as legitimate and inalienable, corresponding to divine will. For instance, the statement that "...private ownership does not constitute for anyone an absolute and unconditional right," that "...some possessions are an obstacle in the way of collective ownership" and that expropriation is sometimes necessary is undoubtedly a really new and interesting fact regarding social Catholicism's power to metamorphose (even if such statements drop in value when they seek, among other things, to dodge the social revolutions and the "danger of complete collectivization."

After the publication of his first encyclical, "Redemptor Hominis" (1979), then after the appearance of the second one, "Laborem Exercens" (1981), and,

moreover, on the basis of his entire activity, more and more observers feel that it is proper to pose the question: In what doctrinary relationships does John Paul II stand to the religious reforming spirit of the Second Vatican Council? And then, of course, a generalizing connected question: What appearance is social Catholicism going to acquire under his pontificate?

As is also easy to assume, John Paul II does not state and does not even suggest that he would try to produce a break with his predecessors along the line of the church's social ideology. On the contrary, he maintains enthusiastically his desire to be considered a continuer of the Second Vatican Council. However, various commentators and journalists have noted a number of significant aspects. It is known that, without abandoning its missionary interests, but, on the contrary, in the desire to support them better, in the period following the council, Catholicism has tried to orient its traditional concepts and methods toward the interpretation of social and political reality from a sociological and political perspective. However, in "Redemptor Hominis" (let us note even the title: "The Savior of Man"), the leitmotiv of the papal discourse becomes the "mystery of salvation," a theoretical way by which John Paul II tries to /desociologize/ the conciliar consequences, by favoring a /theological anthropology/. Which also explains, probably, the fact that, at the start of his pontificate, the pope avoided the very use of notions like those of "social doctrine" and, even more, that of "social Catholicism."

What has impressed all the observers of the Roman Catholic Church's current activity the most, however, has been, in particular, the persistence with which the current pope has affirmed and reaffirmed that the church and the clergy must not engage in militant politics, in the ordinary sense of the word, since this church wants to protect all its children. In the face of these ideas, no few have been those who have asked themselves: If on the plane of economic, social and political life the church wants to protect equally all believers, will it still be able to truly help those who really suffer from social and political oppression? In this regard, even a newspaper like THE NEW YORK TIMES wrote the following about a papal address given in Puebla (Mexico) in 1979: "It is a disappointing speech. The pope seems to ask the priests to limit their activity to the altar. But there are many Catholics who are asking themselves how the priests could concern themselves with the spiritual needs of a stray flock divested of everything, without intervening in any way to ease the living conditions that oppress them."

Accountably, the high pontiff's critical attention was directed toward the leftwing political movements in some countries of Latin America, which often clothed a radical political content in a religious guise (the "theology of liberation" is, in this regard, the most typical Latin-American political phenomenon and, for a while, especially at first, it aroused many discussions and, among the high clergy, many fears). Especially the fact that not just immense strata of poor believers but even some clergymen--it is true, among those with a social status not of the most encouraging kind--participated in these political movements was serious, in the pope's opinion. Let us note the fact that John Paul II's first missionary tour was conducted precisely on this continent (Puebla, Mexico, 1979). This is the period in which he criticized the most harshly the leftwing political "outgrowths" that claimed descent from the

aggiornamento. The observers have often compared, in this regard, the spirit of the Medellin conference (1968, Columbia), organized by Paul VI, at which the political "leftwing" of the Latin-American episcopate predominated, with John Paul II's Puebla conference (1979), at which the "moderation" of the leftwing was attempted. As regards the "theology of liberation" and its fate within the Catholic Church, John Paul II stated to the press: "It is an erroneous theology. If we begin to politicize theology, it will no longer be theology.... It is a question here of a social doctrine, of a kind of sociology. But this can no longer be a religious doctrine." The pope's practical conclusion was that the priests should not engage directly in politics.

But not even John Paul II could remain for long outside the direct ideological discussion of the great social, political and economic problems of the present, and the text of the encyclical "Laborem Exercens" (1981) demonstrates this implicitly. Some Western commentators are even of the opinion that he may have made too direct and sudden a leap from the height of the theological abstractions characteristic of his first encyclical, to theoretical and technical details specific to the particular social sciences, which, due to their inherent polemical character that they give off, are surprising in a pontifical document of such scope.

This time, with the arguments of the particular social sciences, interpreted apologetically nevertheless, John Paul II tries to strengthen the Christian Church's authority over the world and, in particular, to give new stimuli and add luster to the mission of mentor and arbiter that traditionally goes to the Roman Catholic Church. He is aware that the world's social and political progress cannot and must not be passed over in silence and that this tactic is in the church's interest. But, as a universal arbiter and judge, with powers and rights of divine origin--qualities that the popes have always claimed--John Paul II feels, in the main, that the "disciples" that he must criticize and "guide" spiritually are two in particular: /capitalism/ and /socialism/. However, one notes the fact that while socialism is perhaps criticized more insistently than in the past, the new society's historical legitimacy is no longer denied. Which represents a true "mutation" in social Catholicism's theoretical structure, as it was defined from Leo XIII onward. While Leo XIII was concerned mainly with legitimating the economic, social and political limits on the workers (and sometimes also criticized ideas of the liberal bourgeoisie), John Paul II radically changes the tactic. He does not theoretically condemn social and political progress, in its nonreligious senses, but tries constantly to be situated--/but only apparently, unfortunately/--in the forefront of current social and political progress; only in this way can he state, ultimately, that such true progress would manage to be achieved only in a religious spirit and under the protection of the Roman Catholic Church. Thus, for instance, ultramodern technology, the adverse division of the goods among individuals and nations, the furious arming of countries, the destruction of nature through pollution, especially by the superindustrialized states, and so on are major problems of humanity, present in this encyclical. But, the contemporary world's ethos, necessary for overcoming its difficulties, would spring from the dogmatics of Catholic theology.

The contradictions are numerous and profound within the attempts to modernize the Catholic social ideology. This modernization, with ebb-and-flow movements,

cannot represent, by its very contradictory essence, a unitary social process. But perhaps precisely the appearance and intensification of serious disputes among some Catholic clergymen regarding the social and political problems advanced by or connected with the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965) constitute one of the interesting phenomena in current Catholicism's ideological props. Some clergymen call in question the very sincerity of official Catholicism's conciliar and postconciliar social (and even purely religious) solutions. These solutions are viewed by these dissident clergymen not as intentions to revitalize the religious spirit proper but as attempts to restructure and strengthen the ideological justification of Catholicism as a world organization, tempted both now and before by temporal power, by its political influence, by the strengthening and improvement of its organizational, administrative and bureaucratic structure through the use of the most modern methods offered by the culture and civilization of our times. (Such ideas were also asserted recently by clergyman Rudolf Schermann, in his work "Woran die Kirche Krankt" ("Why the Church Suffers"), Vienna, 1981.)

The Roman Catholic Church further arrogates to itself the possession of the absolute truth, which would transcend society and would be opposed to it as something superior and unattainable. On the one hand, it tends to exercise a function of more active social criticism and, to this end, arms itself with philosophical, sociological and sociopolitical categories of the most modern kind and, on the other hand, deliberately, starting from the guiding tenets, it steers clear of committing itself to the progressive social transformations. In a less or not at all open way, John Paul II's predecessors from whom he took his pontifical name (John XXIII and Paul VI) had shattered the theoretical /matrix/ of Leo XIII's social Catholicism, especially through the abandonment of doctrinary infallibility and the adoption of a theoretical flexibility meant to permit the reception of the social new (even if this was to be interpreted, of course, religiously). Especially under Paul VI's pontificate, the Catholic social doctrine took some steps toward overcoming its character of "/social theology/" and transforming itself into a sui generis "/Catholic social strategy/." However, at present, it would appear that we are witnessing at least the start of a return to social Catholicism's traditional social schemata. Italian Marxist Giuseppe Ciarante also writes his remarks to this effect when he concludes: "The way of posing the problems in 'Laborem Exercens' represents a return to the formula of the traditional social encyclical...; a return to a /preconciliar/ culture in many senses and, in particular, to the schema of the 'old' Catholic 'social doctrine,' which had seemed transcended by the Second Vatican Council."*

* Giuseppe Ciarante, "Do Pio XII a Giovanni Paolo II," CRITICA MARXISTA, No 5, 1981, p 14.

AMENDED LAW ON ILLEGALLY ACQUIRED GOODS PUBLISHED

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 33, 10 May 83 pp 1-5

[Republication of Law No 18/1968 regarding control of the origins of certain illegally acquired goods]

[Text] The Grand National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Romania approves this law.*

Chapter I

General Provisions

Article 1. - The acquisition of goods through means other than those of a legal nature constitutes a violation of the principles of socialist ethics and equity and is prohibited.

Those goods acquired by violating the provisions of the preceding paragraph or, as the case may be, their monetary value will be transferred to state ownership under the conditions of this law.

Article 2. - Under the conditions of this law, this control can be placed over the origins of the goods of any person if there is data or indication that there is an obvious disproportion between the value of their goods and their legal incomes and there is no justification for the legal acquisition of those goods.

By "justification of the origins of goods," this law means the obligation of the person in question to prove the legal nature of the resources used to acquire or accumulate goods.

* A republication based on Article III in Council of State Decree No 141 of 28 Apr 1983, published in BULETINUL OFICIAL of the Socialist Republic of Romania, No 30 of 29 Apr 1983. According to the provisions of Article II in Council of State Decree No 141/1983, the provisions contained in Article 2, paragraphs 3 and 4, Article 3, paragraph 3, Article 5, paragraph 3, Article 6, paragraph 4, Article 9, paragraph 1, and Article 13, paragraph 2 are also applied to those cases being investigated or tried on the date this decree takes effect. Law No 18/1968 was also republished in BULETINUL OFICIAL No 114 of 27 Jul 1973 and BULETINUL OFICIAL No 29 of 19 Mar 1979.

The control involves those goods acquired over the 15 years prior to the submission of the report, including both those existing in the patrimony of the person in question and those given away for consideration or for free. If there is clear proof that goods acquired prior to this period were illegally obtained, the control will also be extended to them.

In justifying the origins of goods, the law will take into consideration all incomes obtained from useful productive activities for society, as well as those stemming from legal acts. In the case of incomes for which legally payable taxes or charges were not paid, financial organs will be notified for the purpose of establishing and paying them within legally described timeframes.

Chapter II

The Means of Reporting

Article 3. - The control on the origins of the goods listed in Chapter I is carried out:

a) on the basis of reports, if they are written and signed, from any person or the leadership of a socialist organization where the person in question has worked or is carrying out an activity, regardless of the nature of this activity;

b) at the request of the person who has made a public claim in connection with the origins of goods;

c) on the basis of a report made by the leadership of financial organs, criminal investigation organs or the courts, if they have the data stemming from their activities regarding a disproportion between the value of goods and the legal incomes of a person. In cases where the report is incomplete, the organ that presented the report is required, within 30 days from the date of request to the investigating organ, to complete it with all the data that this organ has.

If the person in question is married, the control is also to cover those goods held in common, with the control also being extended to the spouse, in reference to this category of goods.

The leadership of socialist units, financial organs and criminal investigation organs, as well as the courts, is required to play an active role, taking measures to know and report all those cases where there is a clear disproportion between the value of goods and the legal incomes of a person.

Chapter III

The Investigating Commission

Article 4. - Verification of the reports and requests listed in Article 3 is done by an investigating commission which operates alongside each court and is composed of:

- a judge from the court, designated by the president of the county court, serving as president;

- a prosecutor from the local prosecutor's office, designated by the chief prosecutor of the county prosecutor's office, a delegate designated by the director of the county financial administration, a delegate from the county militia and a deputy from the municipal, city or town people's council or from a sector of Bucharest Municipality, as well as four workers who work directly in production in the socialist units within the jurisdiction of the court and who are elected by the general assembly of workers in these units to serve as members of the commission.

The president and the members of the commission are designated or, as the case may be, elected for a period of 2 years, taking into account their professional training and their life experiences.

The commission has a secretary, designated by the president of the court, who is selected from among the clerks of this court.

Article 5. - In cases where the report is made in accordance with Article 3, letter a), the commission will not begin the investigation prior to calling in the person who signed the report so as to ask him the necessary questions about the case, at the same time pointing out to him the provisions of Article 31 of this law, referring to the consequences of false statements.

The socialist units, with the exception of the units of the local savings and loans banks, are required to turn over to the commission all documents that are requested and to answer the necessary questions within 15 days, even if special provisions indicate otherwise. For those persons in the socialist units who, through their fault, do not forward these documents and answers within this timeframe, the investigating commission or the court can hand out, through an executory ruling, a civil fine of up to 500 lei, a fine which can be increased for sound reasons.

If the data shows that there is a clear disproportion between the value of the goods and the legal incomes of the person in question, the commission presents the inventory listings of these goods, after which it cites this and gives the person a timeframe to submit a declaration regarding all the goods listed in Article 2 and the origins of these goods.

The origins of the person's goods, where the person refuses to submit the declaration pointed out in the above paragraph, as well as those goods that were omitted from this declaration, are considered to be unjustified, until proven otherwise.

Article 6. - The commission's documents and proceedings are not public.

The person in question can have access to the documents and items in this file.

The commission can call any person who might give useful answers in clearing up the origins of the goods in question.

Those persons who acquired goods from the person in question during the period of time subject to the control must be heard.

The persons listed in paragraphs 3 and 4 who, for unjustified reasons, do not appear before the commission or who refuse to give answers to the commission are punished with a fine of from 200 to 1,000 lei.

Article 7. - The commission can also ex officio carry out local investigations or call upon certain technical or accounting expertise to resolve the case.

This expertise will be provided by experts on the lists of the local bureau for expertise in the county where the court operates or, as need be, from the list of the local bureau for expertise in another county.

The failure to submit the expertise report within the timeframe established by the commission, without sound reasons, is punished by a court fine in accordance with Article 6.

Article 8. - The commission will take measures so as to prohibit the transfer of the goods of the person in question to persons with whom he lives or lives until the situation being investigated is clarified.

Similarly, the commission will take measures so as to prohibit the transfer of goods which the person in question gave them for free after this law went into effect.

The measures listed in paragraphs 1 and 2 end on the date of final resolution of the inventory.

In cases where the commission decides to forward the case to the court, it will place a security distraint upon the goods listed in paragraphs 1 and 2.

Article 9. - Within 45 days at the most, the commission decides upon the following on a majority of votes:

a) the forwarding of the case to the court in the region where the person in question lives, if it finds that the origins of the goods are unjustified, and their value is greater than 50,000 lei;

b) the dropping of the case when it finds that the origins of the goods are justified, with the conditions listed in letter a) not being met;

c) the suspending of the investigation and the forwarding of the case to the competent unit in the prosecutor's office if, in connection with those goods whose origins are unjustified, there is evidence of the commission of a violation.

The dropping of the case is announced to the person in question, the person who filed the report, the chief prosecutor in the local prosecutor's office and the financial administration, within 10 days of the pronouncement.

Chapter IV

The Courts

Article 10. - Upon receiving the file, the president of the court affixes a priority for trial and calls all those parties who were heard by the investigating commission. The financial administration is always called in this process and is required to make all efforts to defend the interests of the state. The prosecutor's presence is required.

The judge and prosecutor who took part in the investigating commission cannot participate in the trial.

The court is composed of two judges and three workers who work directly in production in the socialist units in the area of the court's jurisdiction, who are elected for 2 years by the general assembly of workers in those units.

Article 11. - If it finds that the origins of the goods in question or a portion of these goods are not justified, the court will decide either to have the goods transferred to state ownership or that portion which is unjustified, or to have a payment made of a sum of money equal to their purchase value.

In the case of furniture or automobiles whose purchase value is smaller than that which is found to be unjustified or at least equal to it, the court will decide to have them transferred to state ownership.

The transfer to state ownership is done at a value established by the court on the basis of expert advice. If the value set by this expertise is greater than the purchase value, the transfer will be accomplished on the basis of this latter value.

In resolving this case, the court is not limited only to those goods and items mentioned in the report documents.

If these goods having an unjustified origin show that a violation of the law has been committed, the court forwards the file to the competent unit of the prosecutor's office in order to see if there are grounds for criminal action.

If it finds that the origins of the goods are justified, the court closes the case.

Chapter V

Means of Attack

Article 12. - The local prosecutor's office, the financial administration and the person who made the report have up to 15 days from the date the investigating commission rejects the report to make an appeal.

This appeal is resolved by a commission which operates alongside each county court and is composed of:

- the vice president of the county court, as president;
- a judge from the county court, designated by the president of the county court, the deputy chief prosecutor from the prosecutor's office, the director of the county financial administration or his deputy and a representative in the county people's council, as well as four workers who work directly in production in the socialist units in the area of the county court's jurisdiction who are elected for 2 years by the general assembly of workers in these units, serving as members.

The commission has a secretary, designated by the president of the county court from among the clerks in this court.

Article 13. - In the case of investigations that were dropped, the commission alongside the county court can, within 1 year at the most from the date of their final disposition and on the basis of a new report containing elements that were not taken into account in the first investigation, resume an investigation by the commission outlined in Article 4.

In cases where there is a later discovery of goods or other material items that were removed or hidden for dishonest reasons by the person that was under investigation and in cases where a person who took part in the investigation was convicted for a violation in connection with the case, as well as cases where investigations were dropped on the basis of a false statement, the commission alongside the county court can, within 1 year at the most from the date of their discovery of these situations and on the basis of a new report or ex officio, resume the investigations by the commission listed in Article 4.

The provisions of the preceding paragraph are also applicable in cases where a final court decision has been announced. In these cases, the court that receives the new data will put this together with the data from the previous case and will issue a new decision in relation to all the goods or material items of the person being investigated, repealing the previous decision.

Article 14. - The chief prosecutor of the local prosecutor's office, the financial administration, the person who made the report and the person whose goods were subjected to the control, as well as, as the case may be, the commission alongside the court described in Article 4 or the commission alongside

the county court listed in Article 12 can make an appeal within 15 days of notification to the county court.

The court is composed of three judges and two workers who work directly in production in the socialist units in the area of the county court's jurisdiction and who are elected for 2 years by the general assembly of workers in those units.

Chapter VI

Special Procedures

Article 15. - In cases where the person whose goods are to be subjected to the control is a high official, the investigating commission will be composed of:

- two judges from the Supreme Court, designated by the president of this court, with one of these serving as president;
- a prosecutor from the General Prosecutor's Office, a delegate from the Superior Court of Financial Control, a delegate from the Ministry of Finance and two deputies from the Grand National Assembly, as well as four workers who work directly in production in socialist units and who are elected by the general assemblies of workers in these units, as members.

The president and the members of this commission are designated to serve or, as the case may be, elected for a period of 2 years.

The secretary of the commission is a consultant, designated by the president of the Supreme Court from among the consultants in this court.

Article 16. - The commission listed in Article 15 can proceed with verifying reports or requests regarding a high official, with the permission of the Council of State.

Article 17. - The cases outlined in Article 15 are judged by the Supreme Court, civil section, by a group composed of three judges and four workers who work directly in production in socialist units and who are elected for 2 years by the general assemblies of workers in these units. Appeals are heard by a group composed of five judges and four deputies of the Grand National Assembly from the ranks of workers who are designated for the length of the session by the Bureau of the Grand National Assembly.

Appeals are made, within the timeframes outlined in Article 12, by the prosecutor general, the Ministry of Finance, the person who made the report and the person whose goods were subjected to the control, as well as by the commission alongside the Supreme Court as outlined in Article 15.

Article 18. - The investigating commission and the courts outlined in this chapter proceed according to the provisions of Articles 5-11 inclusive, whose provisions are appropriately applied.

Chapter VII

Guidance and Control

Article 19. - Guidance and unified control throughout the country regarding the activities of the investigating commission, the financial organs, the militia, the prosecutor's office, the courts and the leadership of the socialist units, as carried out in applying this law, are accomplished by a central commission headed by the president of the Central Council for the Workers' Review of Economic and Social Activities and composed of the minister of the interior, the minister of justice, the general prosecutor of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the president of the Supreme Court, the first vice president of the Higher Court of Financial Control and a deputy minister in the Ministry of Finance.

The central commission can request from any state or public organ information regarding activities carried out in applying this law and organizes the review of its exercise throughout the country.

The central commission presents reports annually to the RCP Central Committee and the Council of State regarding the manner of applying the provisions of the law.

Article 20. - For guidance and unified control at the county level regarding the activities of the investigating commission, financial organs, the militia, the prosecutor's office, the courts and the leadership of the socialist units, as carried out in applying this law, there is a county commission headed by the president of county council for the workers' review of economic and social activities and composed of the president of the county court, the chief county prosecutor, the chief of the county militia and the chief of the local financial inspectorate of the Ministry of Finance.

The county commission can request from any state or public organ in the county information regarding activities carried out in applying this law and organizes the review of its exercise throughout the county.

The county commission presents reports semi-annually to the central commission and the county party organs regarding the manner of applying this law's provisions.

Chapter VIII

Final Provisions

Article 21. - The decisions of the court that have remained final are forwarded to the financial administration. In cases where it has been decided to transfer certain goods into state ownership, the decisions are also forwarded to the executive committee (bureau) of the people's council of the town, city, municipality or sector of Bucharest Municipality in whose jurisdiction the immobile goods are located or, in the case of mobile goods, in whose jurisdiction the person in question lives.

In accordance with Article 11, those goods that are transferred to state ownership are turned over by the court executor to the delegate of the executive committee (bureau) listed in the preceding paragraph. The court executor will forward to the financial administration a copy of the turnover-acceptance report.

The execution of the debits that are created under the conditions of this law is done by the financial organs in accordance with those legal provisions covering distraints against persons for the payment of unpaid charges and taxes within a timeframe and monetary debts to socialist units.

In cases where the value of the goods that have been taken according to paragraph 2 does not fully cover the total value of the goods that were declared to be illegally acquired, the difference will be made up by execution under the conditions of the preceding paragraph.

The financial organs will keep documentation on the total value of the illegally acquired goods, as well as the debits that were forwarded for execution. These organs will take measures for the immediate and complete pursuit of these debits and they will periodically report to the Ministry of Finance regarding payment of them and the acceptance of those goods transferred to the state per Article 11.

Article 22. - The procedures for investigation and trial into the rigins of goods that were started against a person continue against his heirs.

Investigations can also be directly started against heirs, but only within 3 years from the date of succession.

Heirs are responsible only within the limit of the value of goods that are inherited.

Article 23. - Until the final resolution of a case, the courts can place a distraint on goods when this measure was not taken under the conditions of Article 8.

Article 24. - If, upon execution, it is found that the person in question is insolvent, the financial administration can go to court, for the purpose of obtaining the debits that were established, to see that the documents by which these goods were transferred at cost or for free are falsified or not.

Similarly, the financial administration can request the invalidation of those documents through which the person in question transferred the goods for free, in violation of the state's laws stemming from this law.

Article 25. - The provisions of this law are part of the provisions of the Civil Procedural Code.

Oral evidence cannot be used against the person in question and his own statements cannot be used for the person whose goods are being subjected to the control.

In the case of documents, the person whose goods are being controlled cannot use oral evidence in establish a price for the goods other than the one in the documents; similarly, he cannot use written documents with a private signature to establish a price other than the one listed in the authentic document.

If the proof of the origins of the goods is shown through the existence of loans, donations, sales-purchases or other similar means, there will also be an examination of the material possibilities of the person from whom he claims to have received the sums of money or goods.

Article 26. - In accordance with this law, the person who receives a court decision for transferring certain goods to state ownership or for paying their value cannot no longer hold a manager's or financial control officer's position.

The record of those persons listed above will be held by Ministry of the Interior organs on the basis of reports made by the courts; these reports will also be sent to the socialist units where these persons work.

Article 27. - Management personnel, as well as personnel department chiefs in the socialist units, who, having data or indications that someone falls into these categories in their units, do not notify the commission listed in Article 4 are liable for disciplinary actions, if the deed is not a legal violation.

Article 28. - The monies needed for the ex officio expertise are advanced from a fund made available to the Ministry of Justice, with these monies coming from the ministry related to the case.

Article 29. - All documents in cases of this type are exempted from any stamp tax.

Article 30. - The dropping of a case by the investigating commission or, as the case may be, the decision of the court that the goods are justified will be published in summary form in a newspaper, at the request and cost of the person involved.

Article 31. - The act of making a false report, listed in Article 3, regarding the unjustified origins of a person's goods constitutes a violation and is punished according to the Penal Code concerning slanderous statements.

Criminal actions are put into motion upon the prior complaint of the injured person or upon the findings of the investigating commission or the courts.

Article 32. - Within this law, each time there is a reference to counties or organs which operate within the counties, these references are understood to also include Bucharest Municipality or, appropriately, those organs which operate within the municipality.

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SHORTCOMINGS IN ELECTORAL SYSTEM DISCUSSED

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 10 May 83 pp 8-10

[Article by Slavko Curuvija: "The Limits of the Electoral System"]

[Text] One of our well-known political scientists recently said: If there is anything in our system which has been worked out inadequately and bureaucratically distorted in practice, that is the electoral system and the way in which potential candidates are recruited.

Views like this are not altogether new. In the context of the preparations for the 12th LCY Congress several well-known students of the political system asserted that the present solutions in the electoral system narrow the possibility of a democratic choice, that people selected in advance are mostly chosen in small groups, and that the very act of voting is a mere show. After such elections, these researchers felt, the one who has been elected is most concerned about what will be thought and said about his work by those on whom his future election will depend. His constituency in the delegate system is a factor of lesser importance. Similar criticism, although considerably more severe in tone, was also heard in the LCY congress itself. The result is well known: an initiative was advanced for "improvement" of the political system, and the question of the electoral system certainly remained one of the basic questions.

Something Like a Birthday Party

How much has our knowledge in the meantime advanced from those general assessments? By contrast with certain other segments of the political system, the group of election problems has been followed continuously for almost 20 years. The first research began in 1965, and some time ago the results of recent empirical research into this problem were presented to the public. The publication is entitled "Skupstinske Izbori 1982. g." [The 1982 Parliamentary Elections] and contains the results of a study of elections in Serbia proper conducted in 1982. The survey was conducted by the Belgrade Institute for Political Studies on a sample embracing 14 opstinas and 1,600 respondents. The most interesting in the numerous data, which are partially contradictory and unexpected, are those which point up several essential peculiarities of the electoral system and the election process.

In the preparation and conduct of the 1982 elections, for instance, quite a few objections were made to the present electoral system. Particular emphasis was put on the high degree of complexity of electoral procedure as well as the burden exerted on the electoral procedure by certain elements of the previous representative system. The criticism pertained both to election laws as well as to the rules governing election procedure. Most of the respondents see election procedure as a burden, and they feel that it should be modified and simplified. However, most do not know in what respects it might be simplified. It is a very interesting datum, for instance, that 60 percent of the working people and citizens do not have a sufficient familiarity with the electoral system and election procedure.

Perhaps this has something to do with the fact that the working people and citizens are losing interest in elections. According to many indicators in this survey elections have been transformed from an important achievement of civilization and important political act into a kind of birthday, into a routine, faceless and bureaucratically formalized action. The researchers explain the relatively large turnout at elections more in terms of patriotism and an overall positive attitude on the part of working people and citizens toward the political system than in terms of the possibility of expressing their own will and exerting influence on election of the candidates.

"Directed" Candidates

This already impinges upon the numerous contradictions in the election process itself. Here even the statements of the respondents are contradictory. That is, most of them say that they have been able in nominating caucuses to nominate whom they like, but at the same time they say that the various personnel coordinating bodies exert the greatest influence in nomination procedure. This presumed contradiction is actually not one at all. Both assertions are accurate. The working people and citizens truly can nominate whom they wish, especially if it is a case of electing delegations of organizations of associated labor and local communities, but various coordinating bodies and the organs of sociopolitical organizations nevertheless have a decisive influence on the final slate of candidates. That influence has been growing considerably, and that at the expense of the influence of workers and citizens, in the procedure for nominating delegates to chamber assemblies, especially in chamber assemblies of sociopolitical communities at the higher level. Even the most recent data, then, are in support of those who assert that nominating conferences are a formality in which the prior informal agreements are confirmed. In and of itself this would not be a problem, since in the end someone must nominate the candidates, if the work of those bodies were more accessible to the public and if the nominees themselves were better known to the "electors." Unfortunately, in the usual case no one knows how or by what criteria those bodies operate, nor who the nominees are, what commitments they have, how persistent they are in fighting for their ideas, what their attitude is toward people, and so on.

The electoral act itself, after this kind of nominating procedure, mainly comes down to verifying slates established in advance. Slates for delegations of organizations of associated labor, for delegates in the bodies of

self-management of those organizations, constitute an exception, since in the collectives people by and large know that this is usually a real election regardless of how many nominees are on the slate. That even when there is only one nominee it can happen that he does not obtain the necessary number of votes, even though he is the only one running and has behind the coordinating body or an organ of a sociopolitical organization. The situation is considerably different in communities at the higher level, as is well known. Here the selected and "directed" candidate will usually be elected.

The greatest problem in all this is that the manner of election directly influences performance, behavior and accountability of those elected. The researchers clearly note this and emphasize: "The act of the election and performance of the delegate's function have become so separate that they are like two detached domains. The delegate, to be sure, does not become independent of his constituency in the traditional sense, but the election as an act of confidence and verification of a public position has lost the character of that initial and crucial bridge or foundation on which is built the delegate's attitude toward the public and the delegate's attitude toward his office itself. It is that rupture, that lack of correspondence in practice between the election act, which has already become too formalized and too intricate or watered down, as well as depoliticized, that creates of the delegate's office a function which is more and more vague and unspecified, more and more in the service of the general ... what is more, it is that rupture that strengthens the positions of executive bodies...."

The researchers also were curious in obtaining an answer to this question: Do the present state and needs of the economy and society call for turning out a wide range of people holding positions as delegates and other responsible posts? The respondents responded with equal frankness as follows: 38.8 percent feel that a large number of people should be turned out, 48 percent are satisfied with partial changes, 7.9 percent think that not much should be changed, and 5.2 percent are not in a position to judge.

Here are also several views about what ought to be changed in the electoral system and election process. The researchers feel that work should be done first so that the election process as a whole attracts greater attention on the part of broad strata of working people and citizens, that it should be repoliticized.

With respect to the role of personnel coordinating bodies they feel that their work should be opened fully to public scrutiny and that the scope and range of their activity be restricted at the same time. What they opt for must be seen as possible solutions, not attitudes which signify the last word in spite of everything.

Elections and Accountability

It is felt that candidates in general and especially delegates to the republic and "federal" assemblies should be brought forward out of the anonymity they have throughout the entire nomination procedure, and indeed even after that. Accordingly, "the provision (in regulations of the SAWP) should be abolished

about single slates of republic candidates as to the form and method used in devising them at present."

It has been emphasized by several people in comments on the results of the survey that increasing the number of candidates must become the rule for all delegate offices, which among other things would involve abolishing the single slate for the sociopolitical chamber of the opstina assembly and other similar slates.

The researchers also feel that there should be expanded direct expression of views by the working people and citizens (direct elections) for all delegates, from the opstina to the "federal" assembly. Moreover, they feel that "the de facto inequality between delegations that exists (unforeseen by the constitution) is untenable: there are a disproportionately larger number of delegates in assemblies at the higher levels and their organs from among the ranks of delegations of sociopolitical organizations than from the ranks of other delegations...."

As has been said, the election of delegates in opstina assemblies is an act of verification, "so that if this is not to remain a mere granting of consent, the delegates should be granted somewhat broader rights in the election process, especially to participate in the nomination procedure," which they are unable to do at present. The researchers feel that the concentration of electoral procedures is high and unjustified, and untenable from the standpoint of the conditions for large-scale involvement: a whole series of delegations and delegates are elected in one sweep. Elections to assemblies of sociopolitical communities and assemblies of SIZ's [self-managing community of interest] would in their opinion have to be separated. It would be still better, at least in the future, to separate elections for "local" and "central" delegate bodies, "and to reintroduce 2-year rotation of the members of the assembly, as the 1963 Constitution provided."

Finally, the researchers favor giving recall its true place in our system, so that it has essential meaning and not merely that of a formal instrument, since "there is almost no effective correspondence between our elections and our 'painful' issue of accountability."

What have been the first comments on the research results? People have already expressed the opinions in public that major internal limits of the present electoral system and election process have become more than obvious and that this is having a great direct and indirect influence on the practice of self-management. It is felt that self-management democracy has penetrated further into other parts of the political system and social life, into the state of consciousness, way of thought and public speech than into the practice of the electoral system. The contradiction is quite obvious between the human and subjective abundance and the overemphasis on mediating and hierarchized and, therefore, potentially alienated elements of the electoral system.

What is one to conclude in the end?

Best not to conclude anything. The discussion has only just begun--let it go on.

POLITICAL SCIENTIST INTERVIEWED ON DISCUSSION OF ELECTIONS

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 10 May 83 pp 9-10

[Interview with Dr Mijat Damjanovic, professor of the School of Political Science at Belgrade University, presumably by Slavko Curuvija: "What Encourages Machinations Concerning Personnel"; date and place not specified]

[Text] In the current debates of the electoral system which have again become topical the attention of the public is being notably aroused by the opinions and comments of Dr Mijat Damjanovic, professor at the School of Political Science at Belgrade University. We asked him to comment on certain of his views of the electoral system for DANAS.

[Question] What do you mean by the basic contradictions of the electoral system and the election process?

[Answer] The parliamentary elections in Yugoslavia in large part have been sharing the fate of elections to representative bodies in other systems and places. They are overcome by a number of institutional and functional contradictions. Our elections were expected to be necessarily and sufficiently distinctive by comparison with the plebiscites and ritual demonstrations which are the mechanisms of elections in other places. However, instead of overcoming more resolutely the characteristics of formal political elections and mastering the working (real) function of elections, displacing the elitist and nepotistic tendencies, and achieving a consistent renewal of personnel, elections are taking on the features of administrative succession, technical simulation, a mechanical method of operation based on mere experience and habit. Although elections sui generis represent the most massive political activation of the working people and citizens, very few individuals are familiar with their procedure, the sequence of steps, and the formalized procedure. The rules, check lists, calendars, and scenarios remain necessary aids to those who carry out the elections.

The bodies for which elections are conducted, the assemblies of sociopolitical communities, have been proclaimed as centers (supreme bodies) of self-management and government, but in their practical operation they do not confirm their constitutional status and role. The assemblies are neither centers of government (executive-administrative bodies are dominant on the scene of political life), nor centers of self-management (there are numerous and diverse

regional and functional interruptions of the linkage with the social base and with the various forms of self-management, both horizontal and vertical).

A projection of the personnel makeup of a body which has become tired out in its vital functions offers further evidence of its contradictory position. Every 4 years appeals are repeated in these bodies concerning the need to increase the presence of the direct producers (although it is not altogether clear which categories of the working people that includes), those who work and live in rural areas, women, the younger age groups, and there are repeated demands for ensuring equal representation of members of the nationalities and "ethnic minorities," from ethnically heterogeneous areas, along with very vague references as to socialist, political and self-management commitment. Ability, professional competence, complementarity of occupational positions and status, remain in the background concerning bodies in which key decisions as to development and strategy are made. If the assemblies are to correspond to their constitutional position, they must have an appropriate pool of personnel, they cannot be endowed with authority by any sort of decrees or political resolutions; they must gain it and preserve it themselves.

The makeup of the central representative body, the SFRY Assembly, on the parity principle for both chambers of the Assembly--both that which expresses the peculiarities in the federal state and also that which expresses community, in which the general and common interests are displayed and brought together--does not guarantee equality of the federal unit either in the makeup of that body or in its operation. The size of the work force and its contribution to the national income, which were not honored when the central representative body was set up, and also the yea-saying forms of decisionmaking in its functioning make it considerably more difficult for relations among the federal units represented to be equal. The lack of a well-thought-out personnel policy precisely planned and consistently implemented, which would encourage the promotion of good people and discourage personnel who are not able or agile enough, has in part favored a narrowing of centers of personnel decisionmaking and stimulated a kind of machination with personnel. Introduction of the 1-year or 2-year term of office for performance of important social and political functions has especially favored pragmatism as to personnel. Indubitable contradictions also persist with respect to the principal participants in the electoral system and election process. The voters are not sufficiently informed (about the extremely complicated election procedure) and are not interested in the prenomination and nomination proceedings, they respond en masse in the act of voting in cases where direct expression has been provided for. During the process of recordkeeping and nomination the candidates remain altogether inactive, nor does the election program of sociopolitical organizations which "work" to ensure their candidacy make their personality, commitment and ability better known to the public. There is much that is taken for granted on the part of the voters, the candidates and the sociopolitical organizations in the election process.

[Question] You have recently said that the "soul" should be restored to elections. Tell us how.

[Answer] First of all by eliminating the indubitable contradictions which for a long time now have imbued and threatened the democratic and functional content of our elections. By restoring dignity, importance and essence to elections, by simplifying the election process, by guaranteeing the traditional principles of the electoral system (universality, directness, equality and secrecy), by seeing that there are more candidates for the office of delegate (from the opstina to the Federation), by authentic introduction of new blood, by better information on the rights and duties of all relevant participants in the election process, by stimulating motivation to participate in the key stages of the election process and by ensuring the actual influence of the voters, the working people and the citizens on the course and outcome of elections.

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PROBLEMS OF SLOVENIANS IN ITALY DISCUSSED

Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 10 Jun 83 p 3

[Article by Lojze Kante: "The Problems of Slovenians Are Indivisible"]

[Text] Trieste, 9 June 1983--From our correspondent--The country activ of Slovenian members of the Italian Communist Party, in a meeting this evening with Communist Party candidates for the coming elections to parliament, to the country council and to the local assemblies, criticized the current political situation in the country, with special emphasis on unsettled issues related to the Slovenian community.

The participants in the discussion, which was the first in a series of such discussions for Slovenian communist activists, stressed, in particular, that the problems of Slovenians in Italy are indivisible and are a component part of the struggle for the further democratization of society. They believe that the political essence of the democratic alternative is not merely a tally of the votes but, rather, a mass movement of the progressive elements of Italian society, which leads to its renewal.

The Slovenian communists are particularly alarmed because, recently, right-wing forces, out of chauvinism and nationalism, have been launching attacks to disturb the peaceful coexistence of Slovenians and Italians. Of particular current importance is the adoption of the overall defense law which legalizes and strengthens the situation of the Slovenian national community in relations with its neighbors. In this context, they spoke, in particular, about the situation in Venetian Slovenia, where there has been a conflict between the views of the Christian Democrats and the leftist forces in regard to the protection of the nationalities.

The participants in the meeting included the former Senator Jelka Grbec, government counsellors Boris Iskra and Ivan Bratina and numerous provincial and municipal counsellors who spoke, in particular, about the appearance of blank ballots at the most recent political and administrative elections, ballots which were disseminated among Slovenians and which were detrimental to the national community as a political subject.

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